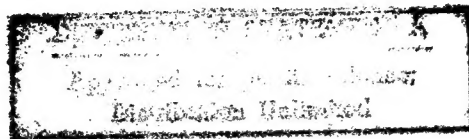


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 March 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN ROLE IN BUDAPEST LIBERATION

AU150946 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 13 February carries a 2,500-word article by Colonel Dr Gheorghe Romanescu titled "Pages of Everlasting Heroism" on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Budapest. The article deals with the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition after the military action known as "the Budapest Operation", to which, the article says, Romanian soldiers made a "notable contribution".

After quoting Nicolae Ceausescu's statement on the heroism of Romanian soldiers in liberating the neighboring countries, the article deals with the last part of the anti-Nazi offensive which started in Romania with the "historic act of 23 August 1944" and continued with the "Debrecen Operation", which took place in the area between the Romanian-Hungarian border and the Tisza river. According to the article during this operation "the Romanian troops, in close cooperation with Soviet small and large military units, gave a new, bright example of the noble virtues that characterizes the Romanian people and the Romanian soldier". Further, the author gives a factual report on the development of the battles under General Nicolae Sova's leadership and quotes the Hungarian historian Csatari Daniel who wrote; "The Romanian troops' participation in the liberation of Budapest was a significant military event of the Romanian Army on Hungarian territory--perhaps the most significant--and they helped to liberate a people to their revival." The article carries some quotations from a Hungarian newspaper of the time praising the heroism and commendable behaviour of the Romanian soldiers. The author expands on the most difficult and most important period of the struggles, the actual liberation of Budapest. "During the battle fought between the river Tisza and the center of Budapest, the Romanian army VII Corps benefited from the assistance of the Soviet antitank regiment Nr 114, whose soldiers bravely fought beside our troops." The author stresses the role played by the Romanian paratroopers who "assisted the Romanian and Soviet troops in their offensive and hit concentrations and movements of the enemy forces, as well as two bridges on the Danube, and fought against the German airforce, causing heavy losses to the enemy." The author further quotes statements in foreign media on the "heroic struggle" of the Romanian army and gives examples of monuments or commemorative plaques in various localities of Hungary, which recall those events.

The article concludes by noting the present relations of "friendship and cooperation" between Romania and Hungary, based on the first treaty of friendship between the two countries signed in 1948 and renewed in 1972 and "strongly

stimulated by the meetings and talks held between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Janos Kadar."

Bucharest LUMEA No 7 in Romanian on 14 February carries a 1,500-word editorial titled: "Forty Years Since Budapest's Liberation" dealing with the Romanian army's contribution to "freeing Hungary from the fascist yoke," specifically its contribution to "the fierce battle for freeing the Hungarian capital" a battle that "ended successfully 13 February 1945."

While mentioning in two instances in passing that the Romanian Army had fought "together with the Soviet Army," the article mainly stresses the role, heroism, and spirit of sacrifice of the Romanian soldiers in freeing Hungary from fascism. The article notes that the Romanian soldiers did not concern themselves only with "strictly military problems," but that "on entering Budapest, the Romanian soldiers were given the order to protect the civilian population and the cultural and artistic assets of the city," a conduct "that will always be remembered by the" Hungarian "population."

The article then stresses that "in token of honoring the memory of the valiant Romanian soldiers who shed their blood in the battles to free Budapest," commemorative monuments have been erected in various places. It also points out that in this connection historian Daniel Csatari wrote: "The Hungarian people will never forget the sacrifices of blood made by the Romanian people for the country's liberation for winning national independence, and in the struggle for building socialist Hungary."

Dealing with Romanian-Hungarian relations, the article stresses in conclusion: "The establishment of the new system in the two countries has enabled them to place their relations onto new bases; in the years of socialist construction, Romanian-Hungarian cooperation has been characterized by an upward trend at various levels. In the spirit of the principles of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage laid down in the two treaties of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance and in the other bilateral documents, Romanian-Hungarian relations have been elevated to new levels."

"On various occasions, the desire was expressed to give a new impetus to cooperation at various levels by agreeing on cooperation ventures that will serve the aspirations for progress and well-being of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, the work of socialist construction in the two neighboring and friendly socialist countries, and the cause of socialism, general progress, and peace throughout the world."

CSO: 2700/106

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DJURANOVIC MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU ON LEAVING ROMANIA

AU122213 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Feb 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

Leaving the territory of the SR of Romania, on behalf of my assistants and on my own behalf, I express warm thanks for the hospitality you extended to us.

The extensive talks we held on bilateral and international issues have once again confirmed both our close friendship and the identity or close similarity of our viewpoints on fundamental issues of our times.

I am convinced that the meeting we had gives a new impetus to the relations and all round cooperation between our countries and that we will further make our active contribution to develop these relations.

I once again extend to you best wishes for continuous and overall development of the SR of Romania and to you personally I extend cordial greetings and wishes for much health and happiness.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency

CSO: 2700/106

ALBANIA

IMPROVEMENT OF PARTY WORK AMONG YOUTH NEEDED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 10, Oct 84 pp 48-58

[Article by Mehmet Elezi: "Leadership of the Youth Organizations by Party Organizations Must be Improved"]

[Text] Whoever has youth has the future. This is a well known thesis. In our country, the youth is with the party to the last drop of blood. It is as pure as air, as the crystal waters of the mountains. It is always valient and tenacious in work and in study, and alert in the defense of the victories of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. It is a marvellous youth, energetic and revolutionary, immunized against every illness which has overwhelmed other groups of youth in the capitalist and revisionist world. This is how Comrade Enver Hoxha evaluated our younger generation in his greetings, sent in August of this year to former delegates at the first BRASH [Union of Anti-Fascist Albanian Youth] Congress in Helmes.

But youth has not been made this way by itself. Its future, also, is not spontaneously guaranteed. It is the work of the party, the fruit of socialism and the concern of the party to ensure that there is a growing future, along with increased tasks which must be fulfilled. The party has recently instructed that its leadership of the youth organization should be strengthened, not only so that the party organizations will be able to devote greater concern to it, but also so that they will take full responsibility for youth and its work, and so that they may have a broader vision of youth and its work, as well as of the requirements and interests of the age and level of youth. This is all the more true when its special characteristics are known and when it is known that youth is the object and chief aim of bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression.

The realization of leadership by party organizations of youth organizations depends greatly on the youth forums and organizations themselves and on the work which they do to immerse themselves in the line and directives of the party and to draw concrete tasks from them. It also depends on what efforts are made to become acquainted with the decisions of the party organization of the sector where they work and what measures they stipulate in order to put these decisions into practice. Also involved are the problems they raise before the party organizations, how they inform them about various developments, and how the young people themselves try to follow in the footsteps of the communists in order to emulate their vanguard example.

The problem, therefore, is two-sided. But we will pause at the work of leadership by party organizations over those of the youth.

Comrade Enver Hoxha treated this problem thoroughly at the 8th party congress. The organized system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the BRPSH [Union of Working Youth of Albania] is also a part, he emphasized, "is led by the party in a whole pyramid, from the grassroots to the center, with its policy and ideology, and with the activity of the organizations and organs of the party and of every communist" (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 8th Congress of the AWP," p 90).

1. What is the practical meaning of the expression, "/the party leads with its policy and ideology/"?

It means that the youth organs and organizations, along with their activists and ordinary members, must be continually and thoroughly acquainted not only with the general line, but also with every directive of the party and that they must study and investigate them constantly. Every activity they perform must be permeated by them increasing the political commitment of the entire masses of the youth. The following question may arise: "All right, who is stopping the youth organizations and their members from continually studying the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other documents of the party? The boys and girls of the youth organization are knowledgeable and intelligent, let them do this work themselves when they have all the conditions for it!"

Certainly, this is correct and, in life, it generally happens this way. But the other viewpoint is equally correct. The basic party organs and organizations have the task of seeing to it that this study, this knowledge of party policy, is done concretely. They must orientate and open a horizon which must become as full and thorough as possible and, in particular, they must see to it that concrete tasks are derived. As the proverb says, a young boy may have a real "shooting eye," which may even be better than his father's; nevertheless, his father has to teach him, first of all, how to aim. This does not mean that the leadership of the party proceeds from a paternalistic position, holding the youth under its wing. That should be criticized. The help and concern of the party organizations are indispensable; otherwise we could fall into an anarchist or avant-garde position, which is also to be criticized.

Let us look closely at the necessity for this help in resolving some problems which arise today in animal husbandry, for example. The 8th plenum of the party Central Committee, in December 1983, dwelling on the relative backwardness of animal husbandry, in comparison with agriculture, set tasks for the youth organizations in order to overcome this backwardness. In some districts, good work was begun to execute the instructions of the party. Many young people in Permet, Diber, Shkoder, Tepelene, and other districts have gone into and are going into animal husbandry. They are going with concrete objectives, in order to alter the situation.

How is work being done concretely? In the first place, it is made clear to the young people from the political standpoint, but also from the economic and social standpoints, which means an increase in livestock products. It means further



improvements in supplying these types of products to the people and a further uninterrupted increase in the well-being of the working masses, and therefore a constantly better fulfillment of the requirements of the basic economic laws of socialism, which means developing all the branches of the economy, the mountains and plains, in a proportional manner. Even more simply, development of animal husbandry means more meat and milk for the workers, more fertilizer for agriculture, more wool for industry, etc. In a certain way, therefore, it is made clear to young people that the whole working class and the whole economic policy of the party are connected with animal husbandry.

Along with explanatory work, the young men and women are being encouraged to put their shoulders to the wheel of this sector and to become aware of and fulfill its concrete tasks, such as an increase in the number of heads of cattle, for example. In the past, some villages, particularly in the northern districts, had more sheep, goats and cows than the cooperatives have which now surround them. Why should this happen? Nature has not changed, the soil, meadows and mountain pastures are the same, only somewhat better; we hold them in common and we utilize them better. Indeed, there are some other things which socialism has ensured and which are crucial: the collectivization and herding of cattle, which permits them to be treated better and on a more scientific basis. In addition, we have people with socialist convictions, we have much more knowledgeable people, we have zootechnicians and veterinarians, and we have dozens or hundreds of stock breeders who have attended agricultural secondary schools. The material foundation is more complete. Every possibility exists, therefore, for a greater increase in the number of heads of cattle in these units. Certainly, this should be based on concrete studies, documented from all standpoints.

Another task is to increase yields for which all conditions exist as well. What is required to increase yields? Management on a scientific basis, a complete fodder base, etc. are required. The task of the party organizations is to direct the youth organization to undertake actions such as clearing pastures in order to increase the production of forage crops, etc.

We paused somewhat longer at the animal husbandry sector, but work can be done in the same way to increase the usefulness of production in other sectors of the economy as well: in oil and construction. The party committee of Diber District, did a useful job by launching young people into actions for the extraction and collection of chrome.

Youth actions are also useful when they are organized on ideological, cultural and social issues and issues related to the increase of revolutionary vigilance and the strengthening of the attack against manifestations of conservatism and liberalism. Therefore, when Comrade Enver says that the party leads with its policy and ideology, this is not a policy in general or an ideology in general. This is a matter of very concrete work with concrete tasks that emerge from the line and directives of the party, and by their fulfillment, this line and these directives are put into practice.

2. What else did Comrade Enver say at the 8th Party Congress? He said that /the party also leads with the activity of the party organizations and organs./

It is well known that the party organization leads all the activity at close range and is responsible for all the work in the sector where it operates. For these purposes, it makes decisions and assigns tasks which it does not execute itself. But if the problem is understood in this manner, we will fall into a closed working position and many tasks will become mired in protocol. The party organization executes decisions both with the masses and at their forefront. It executes them with the youth, who have the energy of their age and who also have the culture and conscientiousness which socialism has given them. The task of the party organization is to convey the decisions it has made to the youth organization, as well as to other levers, to direct them as to how they should work, what tasks they must elicit in order to follow them through in accordance with the particular qualities they possess, how to pursue their fulfillment, etc. This orientation must be made thoughtfully, without "putting candy in their mouths" or establishing tutelage. On the contrary, by permitting initiative and independent action, which makes the mind and imagination work in every case, they will be able to walk on their own two feet.

Cases are observed, for example, of unsocialist attitudes toward property, of manifestations of liberalism and conservatism, of remnants of religion, etc. The causes of these foreign attitudes and manifestations are generally known. They come from the remnants of old ideologies and petit-bourgeois psychology, as well as from the influence of the ideological pressure of the enemies. They are also the fruit of direct activity by inimical elements, internal and external, who, discouraged by our victories and their defeats, intensify the struggle against us. These are, so to speak, the major causes. But these manifestations will fade away if more careful work is done. What sort of work? We must not simply mention remnants in general; we must not simply tell young people that the imperialists and revisionists are exerting pressure on us and are very dangerous and, for that reason, we must be careful, and only that. We must not simply say that we have elements who do not wish us well--inherited enemies or degenerate elements in socialism, who operate in a unified front with those outside. We must not simply say, "Know this, comrades, don't forget," and only that.

What should we do, then? The party has made clear to us what we must do and what every party organization must do, together with the levers it has and which it heads, in the city neighborhood, in the village, in the enterprise, in the school or in the military unit, etc. The party organization assigns concrete tasks for itself and for every communist, and it struggles continually to increase its militant spirit. It informs the youth organization of these tasks as well and, at the same time, it directs it as to how to increase the spirit of action and how to carry out an attack against everything that is not socialist.

For this purpose, there are some helpful studies which provide better knowledge of the situation and tendencies, for the development of preventive work. This is because everyone has his own motives and path of development, which are quite concrete and sensitive; as such, they must be known in such a way that work can be done with everyone in the same concrete and sensitive manner.

This has nothing to do with academic studies or numerical calculations. The purpose is to discover the causes and tendencies of phenomena, on the basis,

primarily, of an alert and close observation of life, as well as on living contacts with people.

In some agricultura operations in Durres, Fier and Tirana districts and some other districts, for example, cases are observed of damage to agricultural products. The party organizations in the area of defense of socialist property have established a good tradition with social control groups and with vigilance units. But unfortunately, these groups sometimes appear by fits and starts or operate without much force or nerve. The social control groups have value and are very useful, especially when, catching and striking at concrete cases, they are influential in enlisting all opinion against them. Otherwise, the social control groups would remain "isolated weapons" and would be like an analgesic: it lowers the temperature for a moment, but only suppresses the microbe, and in two hours the thermometer again shows 39 or 40 degrees. Good work was done this year with these groups on the beach in Durres, in Shiroke, in Shkoder etc., by the youth committees of these districts. But foreign manifestations do not come only "by way of the beach" and in summer; they raise their heads time after time and in different areas and forms. Then the party organization inspires and stimulates the spirit of attack of the youth and directs it to catch hold of the roots and causes, so that it will not operate on the basis of campaigns and so that it will raise the whole of the youthful masses to their feet.

Is this always done? Sometimes there are shortcomings. In some villages of the Mat District, for example, a bad custom is practiced: when a girl who is getting married leaves her house, she weeps and shouts, she clutches the door and the staircase. This girl is a member of the BRPSH. There are plenty of other such people around, even communists and cadres. No one stops to ask this good girl why she is shouting; indeed, someone, especially some woman, will say, "How beautifully she cries!" In order to combat this old custom, it is sufficient to say, "the time has passed"? The basic party organizations in these villages must give reasons from the ideological and scientific standpoints for why the time has passed. They must explain to young people, especially to girls, but also to their parents, that in the past, girls were right to weep and wail. It is no accident that in many zones, lamenting and weeping is identical in marriage of girls and in the case of a death. Why? Because the girl was sold for money and she went as "a pig in a poke" to a man who did not know what she was. She was only told that he was a man and that was all. This man could beat her, fetter her and kill her. But today? Today, girls generally decide their own fate in life, but even if they do not choose their own spouses, who would dare harm them when the party, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole of the people defend their fate. Why, then, must there be weeping and crying today, just as there was yesterday?

The party organizations have often assigned concrete tasks for the struggle against conservatism in the forms in which it manifests itself. It is important to note that they have directed the party organizations as to how to improve this struggle and how to involve the best and most skilled specialists in this activity in order for them to explain the essence of things. They must explain to youth, for example, that the gifts which are sent "as tokens," and which cost up to 5,000 leks, are used, in fact, to buy the bride, as they were formerly. The youth activists must be directed to immerse themselves continually

in the teachings of the party, and also in studies of scientific literature. In this way, they will become better acquainted with the old ways and will be able to combat them in a fundamental manner, in their classic or "new" manifestations, however they appear.

It is important that today's youth and the level of its interests should be known thoroughly from every standpoint. The party organizations in some districts, such as Gjirokaster, Elbasan, etc., gave good support to the action that was organized in May of this year by the Central Committee of the youth organization for the purpose of constructing, equipping with a material base or invigorating with various activities the sports grounds, centers, cultural institutions, etc. But there were also some leading communists and cadres who received the young people with the reply, "All right, we have no time here for fun. Go to the field: it gives you bread, it doesn't give you a ball or a guitar!"

These conceptions are narrow and damaging. By including young people in many-sided activities in their free time, some good is achieved:

One good aspect involves the fact that young people enjoy themselves, rest, educate themselves and extend their knowledge more with each other and they will become more mobilized in work. By occupying their free time with useful activity, they will have fewer foreign manifestations.

For another thing, they strengthen themselves physically for defense.

In addition, they develop some traditions which are part of our national culture which distinguish us as a nation: various folkloric creations, folk music instruments, etc. Let us recall Comrade Enver's marvellous book, "Vitet e Vegjelise" [Years of Childhood]. The leader of the party and the people speaks with great affection of the flute player, of the blind singer, Vehip Qorri, and about all the others. These too are part of the nation, part of the fatherland, because love of the fatherland, as emerges also from these reminiscences of Comrade Enver, is not an abstract notion. Love of the fatherland constitutes love of this soil, these mountains, fields, cities and houses, these people; it constitutes our national costumes, the graves of our forefathers and the cradles of our children: the whole material and spiritual culture which our ancestors left us and that which we are creating and causing to flourish in the socialist epoch.

Many party organizations, such as the one in Dishnice--in Korce--and the one in Margegaj--in Tropoje, etc., have extended the movement, "Where there is youth, let it be progressive," into the area of work with traditions, giving a correct conception, as the party teaches, of the traditions of work and war, folklore and ethnography, the past and the epoch of socialism. The party bureaus and organization have given support in these areas and have opened wider horizons for initiatives for the youth.

The good work done until now must be expanded and generalized. It is the task of the basic organs and organizations of the party to include all other workers in the progressive objectives of the party organizations. When a plenum member, cadre or party worker goes to a zone, he would do well to meet with the secretary

of the party bureau, the council or cooperative chairman, the brigadier or the agronomist. He would do equally well to meet with the secretary of the youth committee as well and ask not only, "How are the meetings going?" and "How are the young people fulfilling the norms?", but also what sort of work the young people are doing to increase revolutionary vigilance, to propagate the socialist way of life and even to familiarize themselves with the traditions of the zone: the songs and legends, the history of warriors, the folk games, etc.

In pursuing the problems in this way, in concretely expanding the horizon of party organizations, their internal life will be invigorated, the mobilization of youth for the fulfillment of all tasks will increase, their independent activity will increase greatly and the faults that sometimes arise will be eliminated. It happens that in some economic enterprise, agricultural cooperative or school, some problems are resolved without the need for administrative attention. Work arises for an action, but the young people do not rally as they should and the director does not say anything either. This is sometimes seen with amateurs. It happens that the voice of the head of the vocational committee is not heeded, the voice of the youth secretary is not heeded, while the voice of the state administrator is heeded even with respect to problems which do not directly concern him.

What does this indicate? It indicates that the party organization, in these cases, does not fulfill its role. What else does it indicate? It indicates that the economic and state organs, in these cases, occupy themselves or are obliged to occupy themselves with all problems. Another point is that their collaboration with the party organization or with other organizations of the masses, but not the latter, is eliminated and almost cast aside, even in special cases. This happens, moreover, when the party committee, the secretary or other cadres are accustomed to calling on the head of state for everything. The leader is called on regarding the plan or regarding saving electrical energy or regarding the athletic competitions or even regarding the care and vigilance which must be shown on the occasion of a holiday. This practice has a bad aspect in that an incorrect concept is created regarding the place and role of the leader or the head of a cooperative. The workers resign themselves to an activity, not because they are convinced, but because the leader says to do it. They mistakenly think that he "should handle" not only work, but also authorizations, categories, the right to study, etc., etc., when, in fact, today no one's fate lies in the hands of only one man, whoever he may be.

What else is bad? This administrative way is bad in that it elbows out the party organization and other organizations of the masses as strong levers of the party.

The party organs and organizations are obliged to work so that the youth organizations and the other organizations of the masses should increase their role in resolving problems, each doing the work that belongs to it, without taking one another's place, that of the director, the chairman or anyone else. They must direct concretely, therefore, and they must help, so that each lever may stand on its own feet and on its own line in order to fulfill their common tasks.

In accordance with the teachings of the party, the organs and organizations of the party, from the district to the smallest unit, guide the whole activity of the party organization in a constantly better manner. But naturally there are faults and problems arise. Sometimes, narrow concepts are observed.

It happens that leadership of the party organizations is understood simply as an organizational problem. In work practice the question is simplified and the party organization may or may not call the party organization to account and a party organization delegate may or may not take part in the youth meeting, etc. The call to account remains without value if no accounting is required and no horizons are opened for problems. Similarly, if a delegate goes to a youth organization meeting and does not convey any tasks, does not participate actively in the discussion and questions and does not bring the opinions of the young people to the party organization, again we have nothing more than a meeting and only that.

That is why the leading role, as the party teaches us, should not be measured by the forms of work or by the number of these forms, but by the fruits which they yield and by their content. There is nothing wrong, for example, with calling the youth committee to account. But it would be best if the party organization and the communists would demand much from themselves before demanding much from the youth cadres. We should therefore ask ourselves how we have been working as a party organization, how each communist has been working and what example he has set for the smooth course of work in the party organization. How have we expanded the horizon? How have we communists united with the workers, with youth? How have we transmitted tasks? We must therefore not only make value judgments, such as "this is good, this is bad," but we must also look at how we communists work with youth; in the defects in the work of the party organization, we also find defects for which we are responsible as a party organization or organ in our work with the youth.

Another well known, poor practice involves leaving the leadership of youth by the party to the communist "assigned" to the party organization. We say that this is a poor practice, because this practice impoverishes the work of the party with the masses and limits it. Naturally, a certain division of labor can be made in the party organization for the communists, but this division, the party teaches us, is not made with a knife. Every organization and each communist in particular must be concerned with the party organization.

What is bad in the fact that this work is left only to the person "assigned"?

There is not one bad aspect in it, but several.

First, this assignee, however trained and qualified he may be, cannot replace the entire party organization and its thought and strength. At best, he does as much as one communist can do, but not as much as 20 or 30 communists can do or as much as an organization can do whose strength is greater and whose range is wider. It is even worse when these "assignees" are themselves young party candidates.

Secondly, if there is a permanent "appointee," there is a danger that the party organization will relax. The idea arises that a comrade is now occupied with this work and thus there is no need for mobilizing and troubling all the communists.

Thirdly, this communist, since he is not helped by the comrades of the organization, may, in certain cases, exert an influence in the party organization that is not for the best. He may introduce the forms of work of the party organization into this organization, and this is harmful. This is true not only because of the fact that the party organization is an organization of the masses and, as such, does not have the same norms as the party, which is the organized vanguard of the working class, but also because of the fact that if the youth organizations were to work with the same forms and rules, in imitation of the party organizations, willingly or unwillingly they would emerge as organizations parallel to the party organizations and would, as it were, place themselves on the same level with them. This would be entirely inadmissible from the standpoint of principle and, practically, it would be very damaging.

In any case, the leadership of the party organizations is also conceived too narrowly. It is conceived as approval or disapproval of the activities of the youth, even in small matters of ephemeral and secondary importance, such as whether or not to perform an action, for example, or whether or not to have a dance party or whether or not to go to a certain person's wedding, etc.

These narrow concepts harm work. They take the party organization away from the true management of problems and they stifle the independent action of the party organizations. If the major problems are resolved, the small ones will resolve themselves.

3. Let us pause on a third point: the leadership of the party is also realized in the activity of every communist.

What does this mean?

This means that every communist must be in the vanguard. He must fulfill his tasks as a worker and he must be a political militant and a social activist. He must convey the party line to the youth, as well as to the other workers; he must analyze the tasks that are assigned and he must inspire and mobilize them for their fulfillment. This must be done with party-minded example and words in the party spirit.

A communist who works in this way is indistinguishable from the members of the BRPSH, because even if he is not young in age, he has the youthful spirit of the party with which people are captivated, and he gives them encouragement and support. Experience gained in this area in the "Enver Hoxha" tractor combine is already known. It is not the only instance: there are such experiences throughout the whole country. The point is that it is enriched, because the leadership by the party of the party organization is, in essence, work with people. It is realized well when the communists are united with the youth and when they establish sound, permanent links with it. This work is not done only at meetings. It is done primarily in the field, in the enterprise, in the military unit and in the school, where spiritual links are established with youth, loving them and being loved by them, going to their homes and having them come home, in joy or in sorrow, on occasions or without occasions. In this way, a warm social, party environment is established which stimulates people to speak their minds openly and which inspires and mobilizes them for



work. Some young workers in the Kamze Agricultural Enterprise speak with love about one communist, a former secretary of the basic party organization and, among other things, they also tell of one of his actions which, in itself, is unimportant, but is very meaningful. On free afternoons, these young people used to gather and play soccer. Sometimes, the secretary used to come too. Not to play, naturally, but to referee the game. It is not difficult to understand that at the word of this communist, who had aroused so much affection in them, the young people would have, as they say, gone through fire.

At the 8th party congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that the organizations of the masses also accomplish party work, since the whole of their activity is based on the party line and serves the execution of this line.

What does this mean in our case? It means that the party organs and organizations must see to it that the forums of the party organization should make mature, mobilized and applicable decisions and that they would evaluate them. They should interest themselves, when the need arises, in seeing how these decisions are executed, just as they should interest themselves in the tasks which they themselves assign. They should expand the organizational horizons of the youth movement and they should suggest the most useful ways of achieving the objectives that they set for themselves.

Good experience exists, but there are also particular cases which can be criticized, when the work done by youth is detached from the tasks of the party. In an agricultural cooperative in Diber, the head agronomist was also elected as the secretary of the youth committee. He did very good work; both the young people and the cooperativists liked him. Only the chairman, a member of the party bureau was sulky with him. "You are too busy with this youth work," he said. "You are a specialist and your place is with the crops." This communist forgot that the head agronomist, in working with the young people, mobilized them to accomplish all the tasks. He therefore helped to grow the crops and, much more than that, in the growth of people.

In some cases, a certain "communist self-importance" appears, as though we party members know everything and it is only what we say and what we decide that has importance. Where do we see this kind of self-importance? The special tasks which the party organizations have in preparing young people for acceptance into the party are well known. They must work even better in this area. On the basis of the party statute, the party organization has the right of recommendation for those who are of a youthful age and this recommendation is not replaceable by anything else. But in some districts, such as Berat, Elbasan, etc., it has happened that wrongful pressure has been placed on the party organization or bureau of the district to give a recommendation to this young man or that young woman although they were not the best candidates for acceptance into the party.

The party teaches us that it is not a reduction in authority to participate in work among youth, to participate in work among the people and to listen to the just ideas of youth and the people. By working in this way, an "authority" is reduced. The bureaucratic "authority" is reduced and revolutionary authority, the authority of the true communist is increased.

12249

CSO: 2100/24



ALBANIA

# LIST OF RECIPIENTS OF PRIZES OF REPUBLIC

Tirana RASHKIMI in Albanian 24 Nov 84 pp 1,3

[Decision of Council of Ministers on Prizes of the Republic]

[Text] Within the framework of the 40th anniversary of liberation of the fatherland and the victory of the people's revolution, evaluating the distinguished technical and scientific works, inventions and innovations that have promoted the development of production, as well as the high quality socio-political and literary-artistic works, on the proposal of the Committee of Prizes of the Republic and on the basis of the Decree No 46.14 of 12 December 1969 "On the Prizes of the Republic," the Council of Ministers has decided to award the Prize of the Republic to the following workers:

a) The Prize of the Republic, first class:

1. Abdurrahim Hysni Buza, for the picture cycle "With Rifle and Flag."
2. Alaudin Abdurrakman Kodra, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
3. Alfred Mina Uci, for his work "Mythology, Folklore and Literature."
4. Aleksander Josif Prosi, for the creation of the role of Ismail Qemali in the film "The Second November."
5. Androkli Harri Kostallari, as director, chief editor and writer of the work "The Dictionary of the Present-day Albanian Language."
6. Bashkim Mehmet Baholli, as co-author in the study and experimentation of a new way for the production of steel without using coke.
7. Dhimiter Pano Anagnosti, for directing the film "Souvenirs from Gjinokaster."
8. Dhimiter Simon Shuteriqi, for the monograph "Naim Frasheri."
9. Eqerem Hysen Cabej (posthumous), for his work "Etymological Studies in the Field of the Albanian Language."

10. Ferid Aqif Stermasi (posthumous), for the design for the construction of the "Tirana" hotel.
  11. Gago Pandi Dhimo, for the study, design and execution of the technology of the formation of self-hardening soil in cold areas.
  12. Husan Xhavit Bakia, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
  13. Ilir Enver Hoxha, as co-author in the study and experimentation of a new way to produce steel without using coke.
  14. Kadri Sulo Gjata, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
  15. Mane Tare Alikaj, for designing and executing system of conducting electric energy at a distance through a new type of underwater cable.
  16. Minella Petro Shalo, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
  17. Muntaz Rustem Dhrami, for his sculpture "The Monument of Drashovice."
  18. Pirro Kleanthi Vaso, as co-author in designing, at a high architectural and functional level, the "Gjergj Kastrioti" National Museum.
  19. Pranvera Enver Hoxha, as co-author in designing, at a high architectural and functional level, the "Gjergj Kastrioti" National Museum.
  20. Rexhep Haki Shehu, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
  21. Sotir Pandi Madhi, as co-author of the study, "The Social Psychology of Property and Work."
  22. Spiro Kico Dede, for the scenario of the film "Long Life, Enver Hoxha."
  23. Shkelqim Ethem Zotkaj, for the design and execution of a complex of construction projects.
  24. Viktor Ligor Gjika, for the direction of the film "Long Life, Enver Hoxha."
- b) The Prize of the Republic, second class:
1. Abedin Selami Xhomo, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
  2. Albana Nexhat Sulejmani, for creating the role of Shota in the ballet "Shota and Azem Galica".
  3. Aleksander Llazar Cina, as co-author in planning the geological exploration operations at the "16 October" crome mine.
  4. Aleksander Dhimiter Vranaj, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.

5. Anastas Vasil Kondo, for the volume of tales "Why Was Odysseus Killed."
6. Aristotel Jorgji Pano, for his work "Problems of the Theory of the Methodology and Analysis of National Revenues of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania."
7. Bajram Tefik Mejdia, as co-author in the study of "The Social Psychology of Property and Work."
8. Bashkim Shani Jahja, as co-author in planning the geological exploration operations at the "16 October" chrome mine.
9. Besnik Sehit Balla, as co-author in planning the geological exploration operations at the "16 October" chrome mine.
10. Besnik Hysni Kapo, as co-author in the study, design, testing and production of a radio station.
11. Cesk Rrok Zadeja, for the creation of the music of the ballet, "Before the Storm".
12. Dhimiter Thimi Samara, as co-author in drafting and editing "the Dictionary of the Present-day Albanian Language."
13. Dhori Thoma Bibolli, for the study, design and construction of the sector of rolled steel with attraction and sheet iron for steel rods and bands.
14. Fadil Myrto Kraja, for the drama, "The Herdmen of Gjetaj".
15. Fadil Xheladin Llubani, as co-author of the study and creation of the mass forest of pine trees in Kraste in the Kruje-Milot area.
16. Fuat Neki Dushki, for the sculpture "The Month of September of Bajram Curri."
17. Gezim Ferit Bakiu for the design and execution of a complex of constructing projects.
18. Hamit Selim Beqja, for his work "The Problem of Socialist Education and the School."
19. Ilia Niko Pali, as co-author in the study and drafting of technological designs of the complexes for the production of chicken eggs and meat.
20. Ismet Tahsim Elezi, for the work "Traditional Penal Law of the Albanians."
21. Ilir Rustem Kerni, for the creation of the role of Azem in the ballet "Shota and Azem Galica".
22. Jani Lili Thomai, as co-author in the drafting and editing of "The Dictionary of the Present-day Albanian Language."

23. Johan Gaqo Furxhi, as co-author in the study, design, testing and production of a radio station.
24. Koco Theodhosi Kosta, for his volume of stories "The Odor of the Streets."
25. Kujtim Njazi Meka, for the design at a scientific level of the construction project of the National Museum of History.
26. Lirim Tahir Hoxha, for the design of geological-exploration operating in the abandoned copper mine in Rubik.
27. Mehmet Haki Zace, as co-author for the design of geological exploration operations in the copper mine in Perlat.
28. Myftar Haxhi Mataj, for the study, design and execution of a technology for the execution of horizontal mine operations at rapid rates.
29. Naum Ilia Guxho, as co-author of the study, "The Social Psychology of Property and Work."
30. Sali Abdyl Shijaku, for the picture "The Partizan Fires".
31. Sefedin Ahmet Qorlaze, as co-author in the design of geological exploration operations in the "16 October" chromium mine.
32. Sefedin Ali Shabani, as co-author in the design of geological exploration operations in the "16 October" chrome mine.
33. Selim Ramadan Cela, for the study, design and commissioning of a new article for the machine industry.
34. Skender Arshi Gozhita, for the creation of some new wheat cultivators with high biological capacity.
35. Skender Qamil Kada, as co-author in the study, design and execution of the technology of production of a new article for the machine industry.
36. Sokrat Llaqi Mosko, for the design, at a high architectonic level, of the National Museum of History.
37. Valentina Themistokli Pistoli, for the design, at a high architectural level, of the "Tirana" hotel.
38. Valter Arqile Mele, as co-author in studying, designing, testing and producing a radio station.
39. Vangjel Koli Mele, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
40. Vangjel Ligor Prifti, for the study, design and construction of some lines for the production of spare parts for the textile industry.

41. Vasillaq Paskal Kureta, as co-author of the study, "The Social Psychology of Property and Work."
42. Viktor Pjeter Doda, as co-author in the design of geological exploration operations in the Perlat copper mine.
43. Viktor Zoi Puka, as co-author in the study and drafting of technological designs for the complexes for the production of chicken eggs and meat.
44. Viktor Taqo Kola, for the study, experimentation and industrial production of an article in the field of chemistry.
45. Vladimir Nasto Misja, for the work "The Material-Technical Base and the Effectiveness of Investments in Industry."
46. Xhevat Reshit Lloshi, as co-author in drafting and editing "The Dictionary of the Present-day Albanian Language."

c) The Prize of the Republic, third class:

1. Alfred Xhafer Melkaj, as co-author in the study, design and technological realization of the process of removing chrome from cast iron, produced only with domestic minerals.
2. Alqi Sul Spahiu, as co-author in the study, design and production of spare parts for the technology of the formation of large-sized steel parts.
3. Daut Qazim Yzeiri, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
4. Enver Avdyl Faja, for designing, at a high architectural level, the National Museum of History.
5. Frederik Fatmir Myteberi, as co-author in the study, design and production of spare parts for the technology of the formation of large-sized steel parts.
6. Gaqo Vangjel Bushaka, for the novels "Cufo and the Curly-Haired Monster." and "Cufo's and Holidays."
7. Gazmend Nikolla Leka, for the direction of the animated cartoon "The Two Banquets."
8. Ilir Jovan Antoni, as co-author for the study, design and execution of the technology of production of a new article for the machine industry.
9. Iljaz Sadik Fishta, as co-author of the work "The Albanian Economy during the First Years of the Socialist Construction, 1944-1948."
10. Liko Xhelil Ismaili, for designing and producing some joints for electric kilns for ferrochromium.
11. Man Arif Gjongecaj, for technical and technological improvements in the production of ferrochromium in the existing kilns.

12. Mentar Nuri Sula, as co-author in the study, design and technological realization of the process for the de-chroming of cast iron, produced only with domestic minerals.
13. Muharerem Ahmet Loka, as co-author of the study and creation of the mass forest of pine trees in Kraste in Kruje-Milot area.
14. Nasi Naqo Lera, for this story book "You Must Love Your Name."
15. Naxhi Hysen Bakalli, for "Union and Resistance", a wall painting.
16. Petraq Ilo Kolevica, for the design, at a high architectural level, of the National Museum of History.
17. Qazim Musa Duhanxhiu, as collaborator in the study, design and technological realization of the process for the de-chroming of cast iron produced only with domestic minerals.
18. Selami Ismail Pulaha, for his work: "The Albanian Population of Kosovo in the 15th and 16th Centuries."
19. Sulejman Ismail Krasniqi, for his novel "Mic Sokoli."
20. Shefik Ethem Osmani, for his work "Pedagogical Dictionary."
21. Teodor Pandi Laco, for his volume of stories "The Gates of Love."
22. Thana Pandi Gjata, as co-author in drafting the Geological Map of Albania.
23. Vath Haxhi Koreshi, for his work, "The Wedding of Sako."
24. Veniamin Kostandin Toci, as co-author of the book "The Albanian Economy during the First Years of the Building of Socialism, 1944-1948."
25. Xhevat Brahim Shima, for the creation of some new wheat cultivators with high biological capacity.
26. Xhoxhi Anastas Mita, for the construction of the National History Museum on a high technical level, especially the large covered areas of the National Museum of History.
27. Zija Musli Cela, for the volume of stories, "The Snow Bulletin."

This decision comes into force immediately.

Tirana, 17 November 1984

Decision No 274

The Council of Ministers.

9150

CSO: 2100/23

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES AUSTRALIAN ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU201857 Sofie BTA in English 1639 GMT 20 Feb 85

[Text] Sofia, 20 February (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, expressed today Bulgaria's desire for the activation of Bulgaro-Australian relations.

"Bulgaria and Australia have plenty of untapped resources for the considerable promotion of bilateral cooperation in a number of fields, to which end Bulgaria will persevere in making her contribution," Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized, receiving the credentials of Mr John Henry Allan Hoyle, the newly appointed ambassador of Australia to this country.

Indicating that it is only the honest and constructive dialogue among the states that can offer a way out of the current complicated international situation, especially on such vital issues as disarmament, nuclear and space weapons, Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed, "we are firmly convinced that such countries as Bulgaria and Australia can also give a positive impetus to this process, particularly with their efforts towards the establishment of nuclear weapons-free zones in the Balkans and in the South Pacific respectively."

Australia's ambassador expressed his government's preparedness for the expansion of bilateral cooperation, especially in the spheres of trade and economy which has made progress over the last few years.

He emphasized that in the present situation of escalated international tensions both Australia and Bulgaria set great store by the extension of dialogue among the states, regardless of the differences in their political and social systems.

CSO: 2200/116

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES NIGERIAN ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU201914 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 20 Feb 85

[Text] Sofia, 20 February (BTA)--Bulgaro-Nigerian relations, which date back to more than 20 years ago, develop successfully. Significant results have been achieved in the spheres of politics, economy and culture, said State Council President Todor Zhivkov today, receiving the credentials of Mr Philip Binyk Koroye, the newly appointed ambassador of Nigeria to this country.

Noting that Nigeria is among Bulgaria's principal economic partners in sub-Saharan Africa, Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed preparedness for the further promotion of trade and economic relations.

He said that the agreements reached during the recent visit to Nigeria by Prime Minister Grisha Filipov are the latest important step in this direction.

Mr Todor Zhivkov commended the active role of Nigeria in the Organisation of African Unity, in the United Nations and in the Non-Aligned Movement.

Nigeria's ambassador Mr Philip Binyk Koroye said that he had come to Bulgaria expressly with the mission to work for the expansion of the fields of mutually advantageous cooperation. Nigeria is pleased with the work of the considerable number of Bulgarian citizens, who render assistance in vital sectors of her economy, as well as with the training Nigerian specialists receive at Bulgarian educational establishments, he emphasized.

CSO: 2200/116



BULGARIA

WREATHS LAID AT SOVIET ARMY MONUMENT

AU221920 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Feb 85

[Text] On the occasion of 23 February--the holiday of the Soviet Army and Navy, wreaths of reverence and gratitude were laid today at the monument of the Soviet Army in Sofia. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the All-National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, the National Defense Ministry, the Ministry of the Interior, the Sofia City BCP Committee, the Central Committee of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, the Komsomol Central Committee, and the military, navy, and airforce attaches of the USSR in our country.

The ceremony was attended by the Comrades Dobri Dzhurov and Kiril Zarev as well as by Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee National and Social Security Department; Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Soviet-Bulgarian All-National Friendship Committee; Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria; Colonel General Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the Commander in Chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the Bulgarian People's Army; and military attaches at the embassies of the socialist countries in Bulgaria.

Wreaths were also laid at the Soviet soldiers monument in Lozenets and at the monument-bust of Marshal Tolbukhin.

CSO: 2200/116

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR ARRIVAL--Abd'al Ibrahim Khayr al-dinh [spelling as published] newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt to our country, has arrived in Sofia. [Text]  
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Feb 85 p 8 AU]

FOREIGN TRADE RESULTS ASSESSMENT--An expanded meeting of the Ministry of Foreign Trade with leaders of foreign trade and engineering organizations from all over the country was held in Sofia yesterday. Khristo Khristov, minister of our country's foreign trade, analyzed the development of foreign trade and foreign economic relations in 1984. He stated that the annual plan tasks have been successfully fulfilled. Exchange of goods took place with 120 countries, amounting to a total value of 25.8 billion leva, which represents an increase of 8.3 percent compared with 1983. Comrade Khristov also dwelled on the increased requirements facing the foreign trade workers in the pre-congress year. In this connection the tasks assigned by the BCP Central Committee and Ministers Council were discussed. A pledge and appeal for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of currency plans in 1985 and for a worthy preparation of the 13th BCP Congress were adopted. [Text]  
[Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Feb 85 p 8 AU]

DEPARTING INDIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--On 18 February Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Baglodi Deva Rao, Indian ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from the country. [Text]  
[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 18 Feb 85 AU]

NEW HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--On 18 February Grisha Filipov received Gyula Gyovai, the newly appointed Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text]  
[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 18 Feb 85 AU]

MALI, GUINEA AMBASSADORS RECEIVED--Sofia, 20 February (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, consecutively received the newly appointed Ambassadors to Bulgaria of Guinea Mr Piernot Maïoudou [name spelling as received] Diallo, and of Mali Mr Souleyman Sidibe, [name spelling as received] who delivered their letters of credence. Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized the full support of Bulgaria to the struggle of the African peoples for the liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism. He expressed Bulgaria's readiness to persevere in the promotion and expansion of cooperation with each of the two countries. For their part, the ambassadors of Guinea and of Mali

extended thanks for the help and support which Bulgaria renders to their countries in the building and strengthening of their national economies. [Text]  
[Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 20 Feb 85 AU]

TU DELEGATION FOR MOSCOW--A delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, headed by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, departed for Moscow this morning. The delegation will participate in a working meeting with the Secretariat of the USSR All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The delegation was seen off at Sofia airport by high-ranking functionaries of the TU Central Council and by Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Feb 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/116

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. THIRD WORLD POLICIES DENOUNCED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 85 p 6

/Article by Frantisek Vychodil: "American Brand of State Terrorism"/

/Excerpt/ The current policy of the United States and other NATO countries is characterized by efforts to combine military and political coercion--typical for the era of classical colonialism--with neocolonial forms of exploitation of developing countries. The methods of state terrorism, aimed at destabilizing legal governments, undermining progressive regimes and intervening militarily against them have become a part of the U.S. efforts to attain military superiority on a regional and worldwide scale.

The global strategy of the United States toward developing nations is currently motivated especially by efforts:

- to avert further shrinkage of the sphere of imperialist domination;
- to secure the survival and advancement of capitalism in this part of the world;
- to fortify the hegemony of the United States, especially in areas of great economic and military strategic importance;
- to create barriers against extension of progressive ideas and to discredit socialism as a system.

The Reagan administration is trying to profit from the world public's scorn of terrorist acts which are characterized by insidious unpredictability and brutality to which innocent people in the whole world are exposed. Misusing opposition to terrorism for political purposes, it consciously equates terrorism with the lawful fight of nations for liberation and for economic and social progress.

Not only organizations of national liberation, recognized by the UN, but even governments of countries that follow an independent course in international relations have been labeled "terrorist." This perverted concept was employed in efforts to accuse socialist states of being organizers of "international terrorism."

The aim of this campaign is to cover with a smoke screen the United States' own activity in foreign policy and those actions which it undertakes on the international scene in order to bring about fundamental changes on the political map of the world.

The policy of state terrorism relies on a broad spectrum of diplomatic, ideological, economic and military means, from spreading anticommunism, intimidating with the "Soviet threat," and undermining the process of lessening tension to accelerating the arms race, establishing key military positions, broadening the sphere of activity of the aggressive NATO pact beyond the borders of Europe to open military intervention and aggression. The hypocritical attention that imperialist propaganda pays to stability and peace in these countries is nothing but an expression of American foreign policy's spirit of interventionism.

This is personified in the American "rapid deployment forces" established for aggressive military actions in developing countries. Together with a flotilla of the NATO allies, they "guard" the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Their units participated in the unsuccessful imperialist adventure in Lebanon /and/ they maintain their provocative actions against Libya and other Arab countries. A classic form of colonial expedition was British paratroop action in the Malvinas. France established its "rapid deployment forces," and it even tried them out in Chad. A victim of direct and unprovoked aggression was Grenada, where the United States demonstrated graphically a practical application of force. It would like to carry out a similar action in Central America.

The reactionary regimes and forces expelled from countries which entered upon the path of progressive development are also included in this subversive activity. From imperialist metropolises comes money for arms for Afghani counterrevolutionaries, for Pol Pot's gangs, for separatists from UNITA in Angola, for murderers from the so-called Mozambique Resistance Movement, /and/ support for the followers of Somoza or for anti-Cuban emigrants. For the purpose of destabilization, imperialism also uses local reaction, ethnic, national or religious antagonisms, and the like. It involves in these actions also the striking fists of the ruling circles of the Republic of South Africa and Israel, reactionary dictatorial regimes of the Central American states which are helping the United States to terrorize revolutionary Nicaragua, the ruling circles of Pakistan, Somalia /and/ Thailand which have turned their territories into springboards /for action/ against neighboring sovereign states.

The United States also misuses the enormous economic and financial difficulties of the developing countries /in its fight/ against progressive changes. It expands the opportunities for multinational monopolies and forms "fifth columns" from local forces connected with its interest. To what tragedies its rapacious approach to exploitation can lead was shown in the chemical plant in Bhopal in India. Foreign companies make money available and place their enterprises

in the service of the policy of the West. It is no secret, for instance, that the Gulf Oil Company supported financially the separatist elements in Angola, that the aluminum concern Suralco financed at least eight coup attempts against the legal government of Surinam, or that, thanks to foreign companies, reactionary regimes hold power in a number of countries.

After /the war in/ the Near East, Reagan's government brought Central America in the 1980's to the verge of open warfare against liberation forces. Its representatives publicly arrogate to themselves the right "to deal a blow" to every country whose orientation does not suit the White House. In Nicaragua, they expended more than 100 million dollars for the formation of antigovernment "contras" units which now number 15,000 men. These bandits already killed more than 2,000 people, and the damages caused by their secret actions surpassed 300 million dollars. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Pentagon is demanding further intensification, especially breaking off diplomatic relationship with Nicaragua, recognition of the counterrevolutionary gang as a legal government, and approval from the Congress for direct military intervention.

Before the indignation against the mining of Nicaraguan ports died away, the CIA instructions for U.S. terrorist actions against the legal government of that country had already been made public. In the handbook "Psychological Operations in a Subversive War," the activity aimed at the "destruction of the system" was being methodically analyzed. It is based on murders, economic subversion, evocation of panic, chaos and hunger. Counterrevolutionary rage, supported by imperialist and racist patrons, is also apparent in Mozambique, Angola, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and other countries.

The methods of destabilization are being employed even against developing countries of capitalist orientation if they follow an independent policy. For instance, India has been shaken for several years already by religious disturbances and separatist actions which have been supported from outside. Even I. Gandhi called attention to this danger in her last address before she became a victim of assassination.

Another secret document of the Pentagon, 30-31 B, entitled "How To Stabilize a Friendly Country," contains instructions on how to liquidate national liberation forces in countries governed by antipeople dictatorships which Washington counts among "democratic" regimes. It demarcates the spheres of espionage activity in the struggle against "rebellions," as the liberation processes are called.

According to the journal FOREIGN POLICY, Reagan's government has "bet on the theory of the bullet." For a propaganda campaign directed abroad, it spent last year more than 750 million dollars. One cannot characterize the activity of agencies of the USIA, such as the Voice of America or Radio Marti, in any other way than as ideological terrorism.

A report of the Information Center for Defense Policy--a private organization directed by former officers of the U.S. Army--came to the conclusion that the U.S. Government decided to solve conflicts mainly by military power. It considers the scope of interference, above all in Central America and the Near East, as without precedent /and finds that it is/ of a provocative character and that it undermines the effort for a peaceful solution of problems.

The policy of internationalization of internal conflicts and of "encirclement" by hostile regimes also belongs to the list of methods by which imperialism attempts to compensate for the defeats it has suffered from liberation movements, to regain lost initiative and to launch a counteroffensive.

Bourgeois propaganda paints a colorful picture of the developing world as a zone of confrontation between the USSR and the United States. It purposely distorts the social and class character of socialist states and their long-existing practice of relating /to the developing nations/ as equals, and in the spirit of colonial policy considers the nations of the developing continents to be passive objects of its policy.

The development, however, proves objectively that the United States and its allies are in confrontation not with the USSR and other socialist states but with the laws of historical development, with the nations of the developing countries who are fighting for equal rights in international affairs and for the right to decide their own fate.

From this point of view, the policy of state terrorism and the fury of counterrevolution that it incites are among the variants of the "counterrevolutionary cramps" of those powers that are losing control over history; they are rear guard battles in the bitter class struggle of our time. The white terror causes considerable damages, and it will undoubtedly call for sacrifices and inflict losses also in the future. But it will not succeed in breaking the strong bonds of solidarity, friendship and cooperation between the forces of national liberation in developing countries and the socialist states, and it will not stop historical progress.

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CSO: 2400/242

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MORE MILITARY EDUCATION OF YOUTH CALLED FOR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Feb 85 p 1

[Excerpts] Paramilitary education, the aim of which is to defend our homeland, the Czechoslovak people and the socialist achievements against imminent aggression by the reactionary and imperialistic forces, is an important part in the education of the people of our country as conscientious citizens of socialist Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party, its organs and organizations are paying permanent attention to the paramilitary education of our people, and especially of our young people. They see to it that questions of paramilitary education be approached in a complex way in harmony with the economic, political and ideological tasks of our society.

In spite of that, we will notice that some of our citizens and young people understand insufficiently the significance of paramilitary education, its desirability and need.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Committee once again emphasized the need to link paramilitary education with the rest of political education and the need to adopt a differentiated attitude toward individual groups of our population, especially the young people, taking their interests into consideration.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee pointed to the fact that the basic problems and the weaknesses of paramilitary education are in its execution, in the implementation of the resolutions adopted. Certain leading workers of state, economic and social organizations understand imperfectly their responsibility for paramilitary education. Hence, it will be necessary to pay more attention to the planned and effective management of paramilitary education in all organs and organizations, to higher efficiency in political work especially among the ranks of young people, and to the improvement of education in patriotism and internationalism. These values must be emphasized more than ever before by linking them to the revolutionary and combat tradition of the CPCZ, the working class and the Czechoslovak People's Army. At the same time, it is necessary to explain in a more systematic way the main problems of the contemporary period, the meaning and form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism.



The mass media play an important role in paramilitary education and paramilitary propaganda. It is their task to increase the knowledge of the public of defense measures against the existing means of enemy attack, to popularize the highly honorable and socially important and demanding activity of members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, to improve the positive attitude of our young people toward military service, to win them over for military careers, and finally to propagate an active attitude of the citizens toward better combat preparedness.

The basic priority is paramilitary education at our schools. Progress, which we have achieved in recent years, is related to the fact that paramilitary education at basic schools today permeates all subjects. A prerequisite for the further improvement of its effectiveness is better-trained teachers at schools of all levels. This calls for training not only during their studies but also after their assignment as teachers, when they should be exposed to continuing education. At the same time, it is necessary to keep in mind the need for unity in the work of all teachers in order that the pupils and students receive broader and more permanent paramilitary knowledge and ability.

The educational-training process--and within its framework also paramilitary education--is today being improved at all types of secondary schools where paramilitary education is being completed within the framework of the 10-year obligatory school attendance. In formulating paramilitary consciousness and teaching paramilitary knowledge, ability, and habits to pupils it is necessary to pay continuing attention to the formation of a positive attitude toward military service and a life-long military career. The permanently important tasks also include improved and regular physical culture activity on the part of young people, which has great impact on their physical ability. We are gradually increasing the effectiveness of compulsory physical education and encouraging the development of voluntary and interest group physical education. In spite of all that the physical skill of our young people remains below the desired level.

Another significant means for improving the paramilitary education of our youth is paramilitary education outside of school and in various interest groups. The scope of this activity is on the rise. More and more children and young people are joining various marksmanship, model-building, health care, drivers' and other circles. However, there are still possibilities to improve the paramilitary-technical and paramilitary-physical educational activity of our young people. This requires in the first place more selfless and qualified workers and greater attention to this form of work with our young people in schools and in youth homes.

In organizing youth, out-of-school and interest group activities of children and young people, it is important constantly to improve the cooperation of schools with the units of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Ministry of the Interior, the People's Militia, and with all organizations associated in the National Front. Such cooperation is also important from the point of view of improving the political and technical preparedness of teachers, instructors, and other workers and also for securing the necessary material conditions.

Also, the social organizations associated with the National Front, especially the Socialist Youth Union and its Pioneer Organization, the SVAZARM, and the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association face the task of increasing their role in the successful implementation of paramilitary education.

The major task is to improve the paramilitary consciousness of the people, especially of children and youth, their attitude toward the Czechoslovak People's Army and other fraternal armies, to improve their training in perseverance, strength, speed and dexterity, to increase unity in ideological and technical training in interest groups, and to develop paramilitary technical activity.

The joint and unified work of the ministries, individual institutions and organizations, units of the Czechoslovak People's Army and schools is a prerequisite for improving paramilitary education, paramilitary propaganda, and for popularizing the army in our society.

1277

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CRIMINALITY, NEGLIGENCE IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jan 85 p 2

/Article by Frantisek Melis/

/Text/ A study published by the Slovak Ministry of the Interior shows that in comparison with previous years there was no increase in felonies and misdemeanors in 1984. Yet, we cannot say that we are witnessing any sharp decrease in crime, either. Over 74,000 reported felonies and misdemeanors in 1984 is unquestionably an undesirable average which has been with us for years now. It is comparable to an animal whose tentacles, while not extended, are still dangerous. Thus, we must do our best to cut them gradually, especially as far as the economic sphere is concerned. Internal control organs must act more decisively to safeguard this sphere. To detect criminal activity these organs most often rely on members of Public Security, who solved almost 85 percent of these criminal acts in 1984.

The fact that the number of criminal acts has fluctuated around the average in the last few years is thus not a reason for satisfaction. In the first place, nearly 2 years have elapsed since the adoption of the letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee addressed to party organs and organizations which contained clear and harsh warnings for all those who violate the principles of socialist legality, morality, and discipline. As Stefan Lazar, Slovak minister of the interior, stated at a recent news conference, the letter has not yet permeated the consciousness of all those who are expected to implement it in practice. This was only one among several voices calling for harsher measures against such offenders, but in the first place against perpetrators of economic crimes who belong to the ranks of managers of the victimized enterprises. These managers are responsible for 20 percent of economic crimes. It is also because of them that economic damage increases from year to year and amounts to several million. All this shows the low moral quality and weak legal consciousness of the heads of organizations, deputy directors or managers of various enterprises or facilities who were sentenced for economic crimes.

However, this also repeatedly confirms what we have known for years, namely, the inadequate role of intraenterprise and ministerial control organs in uncovering crime. An undesirably high percentage of such crimes

are being uncovered by members of Public Security, while enterprise and ministerial controllers are responsible for only a small part. Certainly, this is not enough because there is no real reason for fear, apprehension, caution and forbearance on the part of the controllers vis-a-vis individuals breaking the law, regardless of whether they sit in directors' or deputy directors' chairs. Our laws and documents of party and state organs concerning the observance of legality, discipline and morality are on the side of the controllers, who must rely on them.

It is also necessary to mention another need, however unpleasant, namely an appeal to one's conscience. Such an appeal is addressed to those people who sit in leading positions and who, because of their benevolence, inertia, lack of understanding and insufficient control, make it possible for unusual events to happen. Subsequently, we are unhappy because our jointly owned treasury is shortchanged by thousands of Kcs and we lost some of our coworkers prematurely. Direct material damage is bigger every year, on the average by approximately Kcs 250 million. The consequences that follow, however, cannot usually be expressed in figures. Last year, over 100 unusual cases were reported in Slovakia. The greatest damage to the state treasury, to the tune of Kcs 17 million in direct losses and Kcs 14 million as a result of loss of farm animals, was caused by 41 fires. However, we look at the situation, when we consider a certain amount of external influences we always find that the origin of such situations was affected by the human factor, for instance, an individual who underestimated, neglected or violated a certain rule--in other words, an erring individual who came to help put out the fire when it was too late.

As far as the members of the Slovak Ministry of the Interior are concerned, last year was not any better than previous years, not only in the above-mentioned area but also in the sector of traffic accidents, juvenile crime, and other spheres. All this should lead to an appeal for the intensification of our joint effort to reduce felonies and misdemeanors, unusual events and their consequences in the aforementioned sectors especially through a more responsible approach by the people in fulfilling their duties stemming from their work assignments, and in better care in situations where we are deciding not only about material values but also human lives.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PSYCHOLOGICAL PREPARATION OF MILITARY PERSONNEL STEPPED UP

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 45, 1984 (signed to press 6 Nov 84) p 3

/Article by Eckhard Fischer: "Because Combat Spirit Is Decisive; Class Consciousness Based on Firm Socialist Basic Convictions Is a Requirement for High Combat Strength and Combat Readiness; Combat Morale and Confidence in Victory are Qualities that Every Soldier Needs for the Fulfillment of the Class Mission"/

/Text/ The training year 1984/85 will begin in a few weeks. Preparations are being made by the staffs to insure that the military collectives will achieve an increase in combat strength and combat readiness from the first hour of training on, and the party and political workers are preparing themselves for a new phase of political work. In doing so, they are guided by the teaching of Lenin, namely that victory in an armed conflict depends "in the final analysis on the combat morale of the masses."

This is all the more true since the socialist armed forces face a task of historical magnitude, namely to achieve a level of combat readiness to insure "that every act of aggression against socialism would of necessity become a mortal risk for imperialism." With that in mind, the XIII SED delegate congress set the task: "And in case we should not succeed in preventing war, then the combined forces, tightly gathered around the Soviet Army, must defeat the enemy so decisively that the consequences of the imperialist aggression do not lead to a global catastrophe for us and all of humanity."

The main lesson learned from World War II was that the socialist armed forces must be better prepared for a possible war than the aggressor, so well prepared that the imperialists do not even risk a war with socialism. For that reason, the soldiers of socialism must be fighters who are convinced of the justness of their cause. "Never will one conquer a people," wrote V. I. Lenin, "in which the majority group of workers and peasants have realized, sensed and seen that they are defending their own power,...the power of the working class." The 67-year-old history of socialism in practice proves the correctness of these words emphatically.

## What Determines the Will to Fight and Win

Continuing where the good experiences in the political work and the results achieved in the strengthening of the basic convictions of the socialist soldier left off, political work now, following the arrival of a new generation of soldiers in the casernes, will be primarily directed at further developing the will to fight and win of the army troops. This is at the same time the essence of the entire process of political-moral and psychological preparation for a possible war.

More than ever, the will to fight and win is a soldierly virtue today. It gives expression to the will of army members to resolutely engage and destroy an aggressor with the mobilization of all physical and psychic strength, and the assurance that socialism is invincible and victory can therefore only be achieved by them.

The will to fight and win is thus sustained to a significant degree by the fact that the army members are deeply convinced of the superiority, defense-worthiness, and peace-enforcing strength of socialism, and that they recognize that imperialism alone is responsible for wars and the risk of war, and feel unfathomable contempt for this inhuman system. Only he can fight better and win who does not lose sight of the ideals and worthwhile goals of socialism, and who with unshakable optimism knows that he is fighting for the most just cause in the world. The will to fight and win emanates from the firm confidence, which nothing and no one can destroy, in the class and arms brotherhood with members of the Soviet and other armies of the Warsaw Pact. We are ready, without reservations, to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with them at any time and anywhere, and through political steadfastness and military mastery to show and prove ourselves as a worthy ally.

The will to fight and win requires a realistic perception of modern warfare and of the adversary. Combat operations would bring with them enormous political-moral, psychological and physical burdens. We would be faced by an adversary who--incited against communism, materialistically corrupt, psychologically drilled, well-trained and armed--would operate on the battlefield with the greatest severity and brutality, and who nevertheless can be uncompromisingly conquered. The will to fight and win is, after all, not only a question of clear intellect but also of deep-seated feelings. It is based on confidence in one's superior and his command skill, on being convinced of the reliability of the buddy alongside and the military collective, on one's own military ability and the awareness of the capability of one's armament and combat technology.

## Always Well Prepared for the Preservation of Peace

Friedrich Engels, the first military theoretician of the working class, called "general" by his friends, also realized early in life the role of consciousness in an armed conflict. Already in February 1845,

i.e., 3 years before the appearance of the "Communist Manifesto," he told his listeners at one of his two speeches in Elberfeld: "And bear in mind...that the member of such a society (the socialist--author), in the event of war, which in any case could only occur against anticommunist countries, has a real fatherland, a real hearth to defend, that he will therefore fight with enthusiasm, preserverance, and courage...; bear in mind what miracles the enthusiasm of the revolutionary armies worked from 1792 to 1799, who were only fighting for an illusion, for a make-believe fatherland, and you cannot help but realize how strong an army must be which is not fighting for an illusion but for tangible reality."

The "tangible reality" to be defended is: palpable socialism, the GDR, and the socialist community of nations. For that reason, it is essential, as Erich Honecker emphasized during his visit of ground forces troops of the National People's Army, "to tap still more deeply the values, advantages and driving forces of socialism, so as to assure an ideological stature and a degree of determination of all fighters and military collectives that imperialist armies can never achieve. This means that, given a persistent preservation of the military-strategic balance, we are at all times well prepared for the struggle for the preservation of peace."

The will to fight and win is not enough, however--one must also know how. For that reason, the will to fight and win of the soldiers of socialism culminates in the readiness and capability--to be further improved during the coming training year--to act resolutely, unselfishly, and devotedly. As required by the oath of allegiance, to perform one's military duty loyally under all circumstances--that is our contribution, so that already today, through the strength of socialism, the peaceful future of humanity is assured, so that a "victory before war and over war" can be achieved, as Army General Heinz Hoffmann recently put it.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION REPORTS ON VISIT TO PRC

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German, 23 Nov, 4, 11 Dec '84

[Series of articles by J. Schulz, chief editor]

[23 Nov 84 Supplement p 1]

[Text] At the invitation of the Association of Journalists of the People's Republic of China, a delegation of the GDR Association of Journalists, including the chief editor of this newspaper, recently visited the People's Republic of China. They visitors used aircraft and the railroad to travel almost 8,000 km across the giant country in the Far East. The delegation attended the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the People's Republic on 1 October in the capital city. In the course of many conversations and meetings with senior personalities of the party and state leadership, fellow reporters, managers of industrial enterprises and agricultural institutions, with workers, farmers and scientists in Beijing and large cities and provinces such as Xi'an, Shanghai, Guangzhou, the special zone Shenzhen at the Hongkong border, the delegation familiarized itself with the successes and development problems, the daily lives of the people and the preservation of incomparable treasures of the great historical culture in the most populous country on earth.

Our IL 62M flies toward the rising sun. A new day has dawned. At last nature draws back the white cloud curtain and opens the view to the Siberian distances, the infinite forests and mountain ranges. The loudspeaker blares an announcement: "In a few minutes we will overfly Lake Baikal." The curious passengers crowd around the small windows, faces pressing to faces so as to see as much as possible.

The king of inland lakes, the deepest lake on earth, surrounded by ancient trees, lies before us in all its majesty. White breakers nibble at the sand of the coastal strip. I remember the song of glorious Baikal, the holy ocean, and softly hum the melody. Our powerful silver bird needs barely 3 minutes to carry us to the far shore.



Already the Mongolian People's Republic lies under the wings of our IL 62M. Snow capped rocky peaks yield to green mountainsides, ending in the sheer endless steppe, broken only by rutted paths and creeks. They appear and disappear in the infinite space of the country I visited 2 cyears ago. My thoughts go out to the lovable people of Aimak Bulgan which comprises more than half the territory of the GDR. What might they be doing now, my friends in the Tuja Association, who keep more than 100,000 livestock--horses, sheep, beef cattle and camels--and with whom I shared a yurt 2 years ago, downing many a glass of green brick tea and Archie vodka.

In the aircraft I get to talk to two GDR scholars from Berlin and a mechanic from Planeta in Radebeul. For some time past, Berlin's Humboldt University and the GDR Academy of Sciences have been cultivating useful working contacts with the Beijing Academy for Social Sciences. Prof Dr Karl Drechsler, Central Institute for History in Berlin, tells me that this cooperation is beneficial for both parties. The exchange of students has also resumed. As for his special field, the Chinese comrades are particularly interested in the results of our research relating to the history of World War II and the role of fascism.

Wilfried Richter, outside mechanic from Planeta in Radebeul, talks about his repeated sojourns in China: "They swear by our machines. These are already doing good work in several printing plants in Shanghai, Beijing, Xinan and other cities."

The time passes so quickly that my watch cannot keep up without my adjusting it. I have to advance it several times, because seven time zones separate Berlin and Beijing. Taking account of our daylight savings time, it is 7 hours later in China than in the GDR. During the flight we have grown older by another 7 hours. Well, we will recover them on the return journey.

But who thinks of the return flight now that the stewardess makes the announcement: "We will land in Beijing in a few minutes. Please return your seats to the upright position, fasten your seat belts and extinguish your cigarettes."

The distance between Berlin and Beijing is almost 10,000 km. Seven hundred years ago, Marco Polo, that adventurous Venetian, needed many strenuous and perilous months to reach China. For us now the distance has shrunk to less than 12 flight hours. First to Moscow and from then on nonstop to Beijing by Aeroflot.

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Now we have arrived in the country of which we have read and heard much but yet know far too little.

China, the third largest country on earth, is almost as big as Europe, a hundred times bigger than the GDR. A squat block fitting into a square with sides 4,500 km long. Almost a quarter of mankind lives here.

The border of Tibet, a part of China, climbs the highest mountain on earth, Mount Everest. The north of China ranges to the latitude of Moscow, the south to that of the Red Sea. Nature, in the shape of the terrifyingly high and forbidding mountains of Central Asia, the deserts of the north, the shoals and sandbanks at the ill-defined coast, was not conducive in the past to connections with the outside world. The average annual temperature in Manchuli in the far north is minus 4 degrees Celsius, on the tropical island Hainan in the south plus 24 degrees. In January, at an average temperature of minus 30 degrees C, people wrap themselves up in their fur coats, others in Guangzhou merely shiver slightly at plus 14 degrees C. The gradations of the climate are without number; but one of the main features in large areas is the sand bearing wind driving from the central highlands. The deserts in the north thirst for water, while Guangzhou in the south needs to cope with an annual rainfall amounting to 2 meters.

China is among the countries with the greatest natural resources. It boasts almost all raw materials available on earth. China is in the first rank with regard to deposits of hard coal, iron ore and nonferrous metals. Its natural resources by far exceed those of the United States, both with respect to quality and quantity. On top of it, much still awaits exploration.

The hard coal deposits in Jiang Xi Province alone would be enough to supply the entire world with high-grade hard coal for 100 years. Since 1983 China has also been among the exporters of oil.

It is generally known that millions of people died of hunger in prerevolutionary China. Consequently one of its greatest achievements is its success in largely solving the food problem by its own efforts, despite the tremendous population growth. And all this though only 7 percent of the earth's surface are available to feed 25 percent of mankind, and only 14 percent of that land represents fertile soil. Admittedly, a lot of what is available is loess, the most fertile arable soil on our planet. Depending on the prevailing climate, it allows for three or four harvests per annum. At both sides of the mighty Huanghe River, the loess stratum may be up to 100 meters thick even on the mountainsides and in the highlands 2,000 meters and more above sea level. In 1983 China harvested 387 million tons grain and 4,6 million tons cotton. That amounts to 340 kg grain and 4.6 tons cotton per capita. Fruit and vegetable production also rose substantially, and so did the production of tea, oleaginous and fibrous plants as well as silkworm culture, animal husbandry and fisheries.

Upon entering its new age on that fateful 1 October 1949, China was confronted with a difficult, virtually unsurmountable heritage. The country suffered from the consequences of feudal and colonial exploitation, the wounds inflicted by decades of warfare and reactionary Kuomintang rule. Great China was dirt poor, looted and backward. Some 85 percent of the population were illiterates. Nevertheless, with the help of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the people enthusiastically overcame the enormous difficulties related to the restoration of the national economy and gradually began to create the foundations of socialism. This era was given the designation "the 7 years of the essential completion of the socialist

transformation." In 1956, the Eighth CPC Congress was able to note that the socialist system had basically been constructed in the country.

The following 10 years, 1956-1966, featured more major construction but also--as now diagnosed in China--"left errors" by the leadership which lacked understanding of the laws of socialism, by the exaggeration of output figures and "communist wind." It was believed possible to catapult the still very backward country into the ranks of the most highly developed countries by means of the "great leap forward."

Then came the decade of the "cultural revolution" through 1976, a time that plunged China into chaos and brought severe suffering and serious reverses for the people. Intellectuals were denigrated and forced to do the heaviest manual labor instead of following their proper professions. Most universities, colleges and cultural facilities were closed down. The Association of Journalists and many other social organizations, too, were dissolved.

In 1978, the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CC began to correct the mistakes of the past, remove the consequences of the "decades of detours" and exploit the immense potential of the country. The policy of opening to the outside and socialist modernization of the country was initiated. In fact we encountered tremendous optimism in all urban and rural regions, a remarkable initiative of hard working people. This is also reflected in the internationally respectable growth rates. In 1983 alone the national income rose by 9 percent, industrial production by 11.1 percent and farm output by 9.5 percent.

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The changes are not reflected in higher output figures alone, they are also highly visible in science, culture, education, the health care system and, not least, sports. They are perceptible at every step and every day, already at the landing at Beijing Airport. The airport building is new. Its ultra modern equipment matches international standards--both the result and a means of the policy of opening to the outside.

During the 1-hour car ride to the center in an 8-seater black "Red Banner" limousine, built in the Shanghai Automobile Plant, we get some idea of the efforts to ease one of the most urgent problems--the housing problem. Left and right of the high road running straight to the center of the 9.5 million metropolis (and lined with flower beds all along), we see extensive new housing districts or construction sites. Modern prefabricated buildings are rising, 10, 12, 15 and 17 floors high. With their stores, schools and cultural facilities, the integrated neighborhoods make a friendly and colorful impression.

Still, the image of the city continues to be dominated by long rows of tiny and low houses with small courtyards, each surrounded by a high wall. They extend on both sides of a tangle of innumerable small streets which are filled with busy traffic at all times. In the old days, no house was permitted to be

higher than the relatively low imperial palace. In 1949 only 6 percent of the Beijing population lived in multistorey houses. A few such city districts have now been leveled to create room for new constructions, because the average per capita living space in Beijing is only 5.5 square meters. By 1990 it is to be increased to 7 square meters. In view of the desired one-child family, the emphasis is on one-room apartments with a small kitchen. Baths and toilets are communally used by several families. This is difficult for us to accept, but we must empathize with the problems of the country.

Since 1949 the population has exploded and doubled; it now amounts to 1,031 billion. At an average age of 26, the Chinese people are largely young and marriageable--urgently seeking living space but having great trouble finding it.

Talking with senior comrades at the State Planning Commission, we discovered that they studied and wished to utilize our experiences, among others. Consequently cooperative housing construction is being encouraged in addition to state construction, in the major cities also some (albeit limited) private housing construction. Enterprises and other institutions are supposed to provide financial backing.

The highway from the airport ends at an inner circular road. This is a modern traffic facility which was completed just a few weeks ago and arouses envy in a Dresden resident. Ten traffic junctions were organized without crossings, by means of elegant elevated roads. Below it is new 16 km long subway route, inaugurated on the occasion of the October celebrations.

Highly conspicuous and unexpected for the foreign guest are the highly colored advertising posters, visible everywhere. They confront us on high outdoor advertising boards at lively street crossings and construction sites, on building gables and buses, in the form of flickering lights that spell out inscriptions, and many transmission minutes in the television programs. When we remember that all advertising was strictly banned until 1978, the effect is something like an apparition from another world. Even without familiarity with Chinese script, we know from the images what is being peddled: Toothpaste, children's clothing, bicycles, sewing machines, watches, radios, television sets. That also is a sign of change. Following years of officially idealized frugality, strenuous efforts are being made to improve the living standard of the population. The traditional consumer goods industry has been given a boost, and the output of many products tripled since 1978.

An article in the magazine CHINA IM AUFBRUCH [China on the March] tells me that each 100 blue and white collar worker households were equipped as follows in 1983: 76 sewing machines, 160 bicycles, 104 radios, 83 television sets and 268 wrist watches. The corresponding figures for farming families (which account for three quarters of the population) are only 38 sewing machines, 63 bicycles, 56 radios, 4 television sets and 91 wrist watches. This alone indicates the social problems of the country.

In recent years several new hotels have risen in Beijing. One of them is the "Yanling," located at the most splendid street of the capital, the 34 km Chang-An Street. It has 21 floors. Only a few guests are to be seen breakfasting in the restaurant boasting European cooking; the Chinese restaurant is always crowded.

On our first evening, the executive of the All-Chinese Association of Journalists had invited senior comrades from the press, radio and television to a dinner in the capital's Press Club--in honor of the guests from the GDR. Though forks and knives had been thoughtfully provided, we take up chopsticks--to the general approval.

It is really impossible to describe Chinese cuisine, easier to deal with the ritual. Guests are first invited to take tea. At the side of one's chair is always a small table for the charming teacups complete with covers. Green tea is drunk. After that, boiling hot towels are offered. We briefly wipe our faces, clean our hands. Now we are invited to take our seats at the dining table. The tables are round, on them stand many platters with choice dishes, sometimes as many as two dozen. The appetizers included bean sprouts, bamboo sprouts, lotus fruit, garlic, eggs, shrimp, mussels and sausage slices. The host serves the guest with some of each appetizer, using special chopsticks. In between times rice liquor and toasts. Toasts to the guests from the homeland of Marx and Engels, to friendship between our peoples, to peace. Then follow the main dishes: Peking duck, various fish specialities, Chinese cabbage, spice chicken, sweet-and-sour pork. Plus rice in small bowls. For the men a good beer, for the women wine. Pastry or fruit for dessert. Right at the end, soup is served, often with mushrooms and noodles. It is eaten with small porcelain spoons. Finally hot towels are offered once more. And each town, each restaurant boasts of the best cuisine. I must admit: It was always true.

[4 Dec 84 p 4]

[Text] To experience an early morning in Beijing, Shanghai or another Chinese metropolis, is a fascinating event for any European. Right at the onset of dawn, a tremendous swarm of people descends into streets and square. The scene is dominated by a giant army of cyclists. Emerging from courtyards, portals in innumerable tiny lines, they turn onto the main roads, some of which have specially marked bicycle paths. However, these latter are quite unable to cope with the cyclists who often ride 10 abreast and, constantly ringing their bells, confidently usurp the car lanes. The car drivers, for their part, have the patience of saints. Though they constantly sound their horns, they do brake and stop if they are too crowded by the cyclists. At rush hours, the lines are endless. To make a left turn, motorists have no choice but to slowly drive right into the line. It splits up, surrounds the car, passes it by a hair's breadth and reforms. Nothing happens! Traffic police stand in the middle, powerless, and sometimes wave. In Shanghai I noticed people stopping for the red. In Beijing each individual appears to interpret it differently. Most likely paragraph 1 is the only one applicable.

Though private cars are still very rare in China, the neverending stream of buses, service cars--including many Volgas and Japanese models--, trucks, and jeeps mingling with mopeds, carts and the millions of cyclists make crossing the road an adventure for the pedestrian. The air is constantly filled with the sound of horns and bells.

In Shanghai's Peace Hotel I was lured from my bed at 6:30 a.m. hours by an oddly slow melody, obviously emanating from a loudspeaker broadcasting in the streets. When I looked out my eighth floor window, right onto the park promenade along the waterfront (where there used to stand the sign "prohibited to dogs and Chinamen") and also on Nanking-Lu, the most famous shopping street in Shanghai, I saw thousands of Chinese were at their morning shadow boxing, the popular Tai 'Chi Chuan--a variety of the traditional Chinese martial arts which enjoy great popularity among millions. The slow, calm and rhythmical movements of legs, arms and bodies reflect power, concentration and gentleness at one and the same time. Mass and school sports are very important in China. When I observed some new and modern sports complexes in various cities, I realized that the remarkable international successes lately achieved by Chinese sportsmen and women are merely the beginning.

In addition to modern medicine, traditional healing methods such as acupuncture are being encouraged. However, we were told that in this sector as in others, some of the measures related to the reforms, such as the licensing of private physicians and private hospitals, are meeting with serious reservations from the aspect of socialist development. A twice daily massage of the eyes is obligatory at schools and colleges, our interpreter told us. In fact we saw remarkably few eyeglass wearers. While out walking, we often met older men who rolled two steel balls around in one hand--slightly bigger than table tennis balls--to maintain flexibility in their hands to an advanced age.

In Guangzhou I attended a huge street market, where hundreds of farmers and traders loudly offered for sale from baskets, boxes, sacks and bags many pharmacological herbs (largely unknown to us), fruit, rinds, roots, and so on--exclusively for medical purposes.

I am quite convinced that the popular wisdom and curative practices transmitted from generation to generation, have some effect. Yet the best natural herbs and medicines were unable to prevent millions from dying of epidemics and starvation in old China, that not even every second baby had a real chance of survival, and that the average life expectancy was less than 35 years.

By the rise in the average life expectancy from 35 to 60 years and a jump in the birth rate, the population has doubled to 1,031 billion since 1949. Immediately after the liberation, the watchword was: The more children, the greater the output, and the more rapid the development. But it soon became clear that the growth of economic capacity was unable to keep up with the population explosion. Consequently the public debate has for some time focused on family planning issues.

On my walks in the streets of China, I was repeatedly and vividly reminded that all this presents quite a problem for a country where children are universally cherished. Whenever a chubby little guy emerged, clutching the hand of a parent or grandparent, he became the immediate center of attention. Quite often even total strangers would look at and speak to him tenderly. People are quite aware that only children are hard to bring up properly. That is why the mass media provide many suggestions "so that we may not have a generation of spoiled egotists growing up."

The celebrations of the People's Republic of China's 35th anniversary on 1 October 1984 in Beijing provided me with a particularly graphic illustration of the overwhelming mass of the country's population. Even in the very early hours of the morning, one might have believed that the entire country was on the march and streaming into the center of the city, Tiananmen Square and Chang An-Lu, the splendid 80-meters wide street crossing it. And yet this was a mere fraction of Beijing citizens, because even Tiananmen--at 50 hectares considered one of the largest squares in the world--is able at best to hold 20 percent of the capital's 10 million residents.

Seated on the stand for honored guests, in front of the imperial palace, I witnessed the enormous demonstration following the military parade (the first for 25 years). Across from the stand, along the street decorated with red flags and giant balloons, meter high displays had been erected with the pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, on the other side and equally large, the pictures of Mao Zed-Dong and the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary Sun Yat-sen. Tens of thousands of demonstrators used pennants, scarves, large and multicolored paper flowers and other decorations to constantly form new images before the stand--giant animals from Chinese legends, dragons, snakes, fishes, elephants, tigers--were followed by originally decorated floats displaying production obligations. Carried past on what was virtually a wave of sympathy were world and Olympic champions as well as a large delegation of famous Chinese scientists who bore aloft banners reporting on new research achievements.

The evening of 1 October I joined millions of joyous residents in viewing the giant fireworks lighting up the starry October sky above Tiananmen Square. With no more than short breaks, the fireworks continued for several hours, and it is almost impossible to describe them in terms of what we know of fireworks. Such displays have a more than 2,000 year tradition in China, and more than 100,000 people are now employed in 70 fireworks factories.

We saw a sequence of fantastic images projected in the night sky. A special program, describing the dramatic construction of the fireworks display rather like a stage plan, provided us with the designations of the images. It began with 30,000 glowing blooms, flowering at a height of 400 meters, the largest of them having more than 100 meters diameter. They were followed by "grapes in the garden," "the peacock turns a wheel," and "1,000 birds fly to the phoenix." At the same time we heard for some seconds the twittering of innumerable birds.

In these hours, I particularly appreciated the importance of the resumption--after many and difficult years--of relations between our two countries and between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. The agreement concluded by our associations of journalists is another small contribution. I saw and experienced many other events to the same effect: Posters advertising products of the Carl Zeiss Jena VEB, combine harvesters from the Progress Combine on Chinese fields, the notice of a concert by Peter Schreier, the freighter "Schwarzenburg" unloading general cargo from the GDR in Shanghai harbor. On 7 October, Chinese television transmitted the DEFA film "Professor Mamlock," having broadcast a few months earlier and with great success the television series on the lives of Marx and Engels. At the moment, the Chinese are dubbing the series "But Daddy."

Not far from Tiananmen Square is a symbol of the fighting tradition of our two countries, the Beijing Sports Center. On 10 December 1955, Otto Grotewohl, then GDR premier, there addressed thousands of Beijing residents. He recalled that German imperialism had also been guilty of the oppression and looting of China. When the conflict about the redistribution of the earth erupted in the early years of this century, Kaiser William II encouraged the German expeditionary army departing for China by his infamous "hun address," which included the following: "1,000 years ago, the Huns led by their King Attila, made a name for themselves which has come down to us in all its grandeur, now let Germany's name in China become similarly famous, so that no Chinese will ever again dare so much as to give a German a crooked look."

Mindful of this "Christian" instruction, German militarism outdid its accomplices and rivals from Europe, America and Japan in brutality and cruelty in the suppression of the Boxer rising (the Boxers used a fist as their symbol) which had broken out against foreign domination. At the demonstration, Otto Grotewohl presented 10 banners of the Chinese freedom fighters, looted by the German militarists and carried off to Germany as war trophies. He said on this occasion that the heirs of Marx and Engels, true friends and comrades-at-arms of the Chinese people, were restoring to the Chinese that which German militarists, its bloodthirsty and profiteering enemies, had stolen from them.

I remembered these traditions of our friendship during the hours on Tiananmen, where the strength and optimism of this people was so palpable. I also recalled Ernst Thaelmann's passionate statement at the 1927 Essen KPD Congress: "We send our revolutionary greetings, our solidarity and sympathy to the victorious Canton Army, in particular the young Chinese working class."

At the same time I thought back to a talk with a Chinese fellow reporter who warmly spoke of meetings in the Soviet Union in the 1950's. He said--with some bitterness--that his country would surely have been spared some errors, in particular the Cultural Revolution, if it had not quit the community of the fraternal countries nor abandoned this tradition. These issues also would now have to be dealt with in the interest of a secure future.



It is therefore encouraging that Comrade Erich Honecker was able to note at the Ninth CC Plenum: "In accordance with the Tenth SED Congress resolutions, we endeavored in the period under review to further develop our relations with the People's Republic of China. Like the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, we have achieved progress in this matter, which benefits both parties and does not harm any third parties. That responds to the interests of both countries, of socialism and world peace."

#### Data and Facts

With an area of 9.6 million square km, the People's Republic of China is almost the size of Europe. It is administratively subdivided into 22 provinces, 5 autonomous regions and three cities directly subordinated to the government--Beijing, Shanghai and Tianzhin.

The population of the country grew from 541.67 million in 1949 to 1.031 billion. On the average, 107 people live on each square kilometer.

At more than 12 million residents, Shanghai is the largest of the 15 Chinese cities with more than 1 million population.

Four out of five Chinese live in the countryside. In 1949, 84 rural residents still confronted every city dweller.

In 1949, industry held a 25.1 percent in the gross national product. By 1983 this percentage had risen to 55.1. The 1983 national income was roughly 6.4 times that of 1952.

Fifty-six nationalities are represented in China, but 93.3 percent of the population are members of the Han nationality.

China has enormous natural resources. Verified hard coal deposits amount to 700 billion tons. In 1983, 715 million tons were mined. Rich deposits of lead, copper, antimony, tin, silver and gold are located in the south and the north. Oil deposits in the fields now known amount to 60 billion tons; in 1983, 106 million tons were extracted.

The coast line of the People's Republic stretches for 18,000 km. Four subsidiaries of the Pacific border continental China: The Bohai Sea in the north, the Yellow Sea, the East China and the South China Seas.

The Chinese sovereign territory includes around 3,400 islands. The major rivers of the country are the Chang Jiang and the Huanghe. The rivers and man-made waters are all very rich in fish population.

[11 Dec 84 p 4]

[Text] Located 80 km west of Shanghai is Yi Bao Zhin District (the name means something like district of the seven treasures). This is where the 1 July People's Commune--named for the date the Communist Party of China was founded in Shanghai--1 July 1921.

The commune has 18,600 members in 5,400 households. The labor force is 12,000 strong; 6,000 are working in the 16 industrial enterprises, 5,000 in crop production and 1,000 in animal husbandry. Growing on the 1,300 hectares arable land are grain, cotton, vegetables and fruit, some of which are harvested 3 times a year, vegetables actually the year round.

Ten tons of green goods are sent to the 12.5 Shanghai conurbation each day: Cabbage and beans, potatoes, radishes, peppers, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, leek, eggplant and mushrooms, watermelons and oranges--a total of 40 varieties, some unknown in Europe. Trucks also haul meat to the city, in 1983, 14,900 pigs, 175,000 ducks and chickens. In addition the commune breeds fish in 40 ponds. Many useful things are manufactured in the factories owned by the commune: Shirts and jeans, rice noodles and malt, furniture and varnish, spare parts for trucks and farm machinery.

Everything seems the way it used to be, just like in 1958 when the people's commune was established as one of the first communes near Shanghai. And yet much has changed. In fact all that is left is the designation "people's commune." The substantial principle involved has almost disappeared. Soon even the designation will cease to be used, as happened elsewhere. We are told that all people's communes will be dissolved or restructured by year's end.

Just a short time ago, the communes represented at one and the same time the state power and an economic unit and were headed by a revolutionary committee. Now they are only economic units. The revolutionary committee has been replaced by the commune administrative councils for agriculture, for industry and for ancillary trade, elected every 3 years. Public concerns--planning, social policy, school policy, housing construction, family planning, culture, and so on--are once again a matter for the village and district administrations, subordinated to the region which, in turn, is subordinated to the provincial governments.

Comrade Ma Yuhui, member of the commune administrative council, tells us "the chairman of the commune used to be mayor, enterprise manager and party secretary all in one. Now the administrative, business and party managements are separate, and everyone is able to devote himself to his specific duties." The party no longer directly interferes in economic tasks. It supervises the competent managements and is interested mainly in educating communists, directing the youth federation and the women's organization. The profound changes are typical for the reform of Chinese agriculture, which began some 2 years ago. The Chinese village is being turned virtually upside down, and so is the lifestyle of 800 million people living in the countryside.

Comrade Zhuguobu, staff member at the research bureau for farm policy at the CPC CC, explained the interesting background: In 1949, immediately after the establishment of the People's Republic, the land reform was carried out in the entire country, resulting in an upsurge in production. The socialist transformation of farming began in late 1952. "Initially we proceeded quite cautiously," he said. "Low level LPG's evolved, which organized mutual aid and used the land in common. At that time we still went by Lenin's principle of voluntarism and mutual benefit. Following 1955, higher level LPG's emerged, featuring the common ownership of land and the most important means of production. That already led to some problems, because the consciousness of the farmers often failed to conform to these dimensions. Output rose nevertheless. In 1958/1959 it was the turn of people's communes to be set up. We now see quite clearly that these communes were too large, the extent of their socialization too great and management too one-sided. Leveling was also practiced with respect to distribution. This paralyzed the farmers' initiatives and resulted in a radical decline in output. In the years of the Cultural Revolution, the Band of Four shifted the left errors to an even higher gear. The small parcels left for private use, domestic ancillary trades and farmers markets were abolished as "capitalist pigtails." In the 1 July Commune, for example, the cultivation of flowers and fish breeding were outlawed.

The reforms now in effect involve administration, technology and output structure. They aim for the 800 million rural population to produce still more and more supplies to flow to the markets and department stores serving the 230 million city dwellers--especially food but also craft and industrial products of all kinds.

At 0.15 hectares per capita, the agricultural area of the country is very small. It is therefore imperative to substantially raise yields. The main headings on the agenda are greater individual responsibility, the full utilization of all reserves, the application of scientific knowledge, the cultivation of new and high-yielding varieties, greater use of manure, larger stocks of cattle.

The key word used everywhere is "contractually mandated responsibility." We were told that this represents a kind of link between the state plan and the initiative of the farmers. The collectively owned land was handed to farmers' families for their private exploitation. This private exploitation of the land on a contractual basis already involves 95 percent of the cooperative sector. In actual fact this means that the majority of Chinese farmers has returned to individual farming. The former point system which attached value only to the hours worked, was replaced by contracts between the farmer and the production group, that set out the specific area and resources to be used to achieve specific yields and the amount of the remuneration. After delivery of a specified minimum to the production group, the farmer may freely sell any additional produce on the market and independently decide how many hours to work. We were told on all sides that the time was past, when it did not matter whether someone worked well or badly, when everybody ate from the same big pot.

However, some types of collective cooperative labor are to be preserved in addition to individual farming. All farmers, for example, belong to a production group of 100-200 members. Several groups, in turn, are combined in a cooperating brigade. Irrigation installations are jointly constructed and maintained. Larger farm machines and trucks belong to the brigade or the group and may be borrowed from a service station against payment. At the same time farmers are advised to buy small tractors or farm machines on their own account. However, we were told that this has resulted in new dependences of poor on wealthier farmers. Nobody is permitted to buy land from other families or to employ outside labor.

In fact, excellent growth rates of farm production have been achieved consequent upon this reform policy in the district of the seven treasures and other villages we visited. Total revenues of the commune rose from 30.8 million yuan in 1979 (1 yuan equals about M1.25) to 57 million yuan in 1983. Admittedly, 41 million derived from industry and only 16 million from farming, but farm earnings more than doubled in these 5 years.

The 1 July Commune must pay 5 percent taxes on the 16 million total farm revenues. Everything else remains for accumulation and consumption in the commune. The average per capita income of farmers has risen from 409 yuan to 846 yuan in the past 5 years. Following introduction of the performance principle, the highest annual income now amounts to 2,600 yuan, the lowest to 450 yuan. Another 800-1,000 yuan are added from individual household management. Because farmers may now once more earn something on their own account, their incomes have grown faster than those of city dwellers, though on average they are still somewhat below city incomes. This has helped stem the flight from the land of earlier years, because jobs are lacking in the cities especially for those leaving school, and tens of thousands of youths--particularly in the large cities--need to wait for work 1-2 years after leaving school or find only seasonal employment.

The change is obvious in other ways also. The mobile clinic has been equipped with some new medical devices. Now anyone who is sick and a member of the cooperative health service (involving a specific annual contribution), is treated free of charge. The commune also plans a small pension of 30 yuan per month for women from age 55 and men from age 60. Another most conspicuous phenomenon: A substantial percentage of the increased incomes in Chinese villages is used for the construction of small one-family homes.

Smiling politely, 35-year old Wang Yupiang invites us to enter his new home where he lives with his wife, mother, sister and small son. It has six rooms, including one for storing tools. Furnished very sparsely by our standards--on a bare cement floor a few chairs, two benches, a table, a wardrobe, a bed for each person, a few shelves at the walls and some kitchen appliances--but by the standards of a Chinese village, this is a "luxurious home." Comrade Wang tells us that the house cost him 10,000 yuan. The entire family had worked hard on it for many years. Friends from the brigade helped in the construction. The farmer proudly reported that the family also owns two bicycles and a sewing machine; at the moment they are diligently saving up for a color television set and a refrigerator.

No doubt the Wang family's standard of living is still the exception in Chinese villages. But it is a fact that life has improved of late. Some months ago, a sensation was stirred up by a press report: A woman farmer had bought the first private car in China.

Still, the reform produced some serious problems as well as these advances. Some scholarly analyses object that social differences, the development of petit bourgeois attitudes and behavior, are again on the increase in the countryside, and that mechanization is faltering as a result of the decline of collective labor and the decentralization of production. The demand for manpower within the family is growing and, on the one hand, threatens the one-child couple, on the other causes parents to make their children work instead of sending them to school. Consequently intellectual and cultural development is being obstructed though, according to official reports, the country still has more than 200 million illiterates.

Early this year, the weekly LIAOWANG wrote that the life of farmers has improved in some regions of China as a consequence of the reform policy. In other regions, however, much poverty still persists. The weekly noted: "When we talk of the situation in rural areas, therefore, we must acknowledge that the economic base of our entire agriculture is still very weak." The annual incomes of more than 20 percent of all farmers amount to less than 200 yuan, and for 11 percent of them the problem of "keeping warm and properly fed" remains unsolved.

We discussed some of these issues with Comrade Deng Liqun, member of the secretariat of the CPC CC and head of the department for propaganda. He said he knew that many foreign comrades were concerned about his country's policy and asked themselves whether some of the reforms might be directed against socialist development. Everything was being done to revive the economy. It was not the intention to enrich only 0.3 percent of the people, as in the China of old, but the majority--and that could be done only by a socialist approach. The mistakes and failures of the Cultural Revolution had forced them to rethink many of their former conceptions. At present they were intent to abolish leveling, because this obstructs progress, and a start had therefore been made with the introduction of the performance principle. This in turn had given rise to new and complex problems, in particular social inequities and dependences. Because people working in more efficient enterprises get higher wages, some now suddenly earn 10 times more than others. The leaders intended to change this by means of taxes, so that the highest earnings would amount to no more than 6 months' average wages. Due to a better climate and better soil, average incomes in some provinces (Tsingtao, for example) are 3 times greater than in the average of the country. Considerable differences were already perceptible in many villages. He admitted that they were not sure whether this policy was going to work. It would take 2-3 years to be certain. It was imperative now to adopt some measures to help the poor. At the same time the performance principle required more emphasis on educational work by party members, so that individual interests may better coincide with the interests of the state.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POSITIVE EFFECTS OF CHINESE AGRARIAN REFORM CITED

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German No 47, 20 Nov 84 pp 1495-1498

[Article by E. Schwarz: "Lin Zhong-shou and Others"]

[Text] BANYUE TAN (BIMONTHLY SMALLTALK), a magazine with a circulation of 3.5 million, published an article this March titled "One Flower Makes a Hundred Flowers Bloom" extolling "the road to affluence, even wealth" of comrade Lin Zhong-shou, the deputy party secretary of the Chang-Xiang work brigade in the Fujian province. Diligence, versatility, intelligence and willingness to learn helped him and, through him, several other members of his work brigade to attain remarkable production success which in turn led to a corresponding increase in their income.

Lin Zhong-shou and his family earn approximately 7,000 yuan per year from raising pigs, poultry and rabbits and the proceeds from jasmine bushes (the blossoms of this plant are added to tea leaves for fragrance) and mushroom cultivation. Lin Zhong-shou passed on his expertise to another brigade member who now in his turn has an annual income of some 5,000 yuan from raising rabbits and other activities. Lin Zhong-shou obtained a tractor for a young man there who now diligently uses it to help out in the brigade's field work and to service haulers in the off-season. This young man has since increased his annual earnings to about 5,000 yuan too.

Lin Zhong-shou's greatest merit, however, is considered to be the fact that he attends courses in other towns at his own expense and passes on the knowledge he gains to the people in his brigade in both theory and practice. Lin Zhong-shou, "the flower," thus blooms and grows not just for himself alone.

Twenty-year-old Wang Min-qi from the Da-Ming district in the province of Hebei in one year amassed a fortune of 30,000 yuan by raising mink, rabbits, scorpions and another species of beetle important in traditional Chinese medicine. A trained cabinetmaker by the name of Huang Jing-fu, who was working at a shipyard in Portuguese-ruled Macao (Ao-Men), visited his native village in 1981 and decided to remain there after becoming convinced of the positive effects of the Chinese government's new agrarian policy. He and his family did not confine themselves to just one branch of production either. Continuing to make furniture for the people in the village, he along with his wife and daughter began operating a large fishpond under the so-called responsibility

system\*, built up a herd of over 100 pigs and also started up a profitable operation raising silkworms. This resulted in an income of 12,000 yuan last year.

It can be seen from all this that importance is being attached to diversification and specialization in agricultural production in China, that is, there is the desire to abandon the uniformly planned monocultures prescribed from on high and not necessarily appropriate to the local conditions. And prosperity attained through diligence and skill is also being encouraged. It is hoped that in this way the farmers, after having grown lethargic under the influence of the unfortunate rule of leftist radicalism, will now be motivated to greater achievement.

It is known that 80 percent of China's population are farmers--too many for the country's relatively limited areas of cultivable land. According to the latest perspectives, 30 to 40 percent of the rural population will be making a living in rural industrial, manufacturing and service enterprises within the coming 20 years. The fragmentation of the areas of cultivable land in household units or smaller collectives working under the responsibility system is regarded as in the long run a detriment to the mechanization of agriculture and to the progress of agrotechnology. In this sense it is deemed desirable that in the future only around 40 to 50 percent of the farming households should concentrate on grain production. The land remains public property as before, but on registration at the official agencies can be transferred to those persons or households who pledge themselves to make optimal use of it under the responsibility system.

While preserving the status of nonsaleability for all cultivable land, the benefits of the socialist system are thus to be combined with the advantages of private initiative on the part of the producers. The planned but voluntarily executed concentration of cultivable land in the hands of competent farmers and the diversification of the production activities of individuals or households is to gradually put an end to lingering poverty. For, as experience shows, purely agricultural enterprises without supplementary earnings do not result in higher incomes. At the same time, attempts are being made to prevent an exodus of the rural population into the cities because this would create new problems what with the housing shortage and limited employment opportunities in the large cities. The ideal envisioned by the government is the gradual formation of "rural cities," that is, of villages and towns which through the establishment of industrial enterprises could lift the rural areas to the economic and cultural level of the cities and thus function as new service centers for higher education in the country.

Interesting in a sociological sense is the use of idle labor and free "work time" (during the winter months in the country) for a kind of noncapitalist

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\* Temporary assignment of public domain property in the form of fields, pastures, inland waters and forests to individual households for their use under condition that they deliver up a given quota of the produce but with the right to sell freely the surplus at the state-certified markets.

production system where raw materials--for example, textiles--are distributed by a production center to individual scattered households for processing--sewing shirts, for example. No rarity in the rural areas are smaller production complexes with a common purchasing center for raw material and a joint sales organization for marketing. In order to convince the farmers--how cautious after the frequent course changes during the rule of the radical left--that they can depend on the new government measures, a circular on the subject of rural labor was published at the beginning of this year by the CCP Central Committee bearing the title "Document Number 1." This publication guarantees the farmers the use of the land contractually entrusted to them under the responsibility system for at least 15 years.

Life in the country has visibly improved. Whereas 33.3 percent of the farm households in 1978 still earned less than 100 yuan per year, this was only 2.4 percent in 1982. Thirty-seven percent had incomes of 200 to 300 yuan in 1983. The number of those earning over 500 yuan, however, is still low: 6.7 percent in 1982.

Those who remember China from the period of the forced-march tempo under the radical left--in which I too once became involved--feel relieved and happy when talking with the farmers. They appear contented and are as hard-working as ever--but without the hectic pace and the loud but merely annoying hullabaloo that set in with the bombastic slogans of the Great Leap Forward of 1958. But the most surprising thing that strikes the traveler's eye in all parts of the country is the huge number of houses and cottages shooting up everywhere--not shacks or huts as before, but handsome, livable and tastefully furnished farm houses. The farmers do not even need architects or contractors for their new buildings. They design and build everything themselves, even the furniture--beds, tables and sofas that are in no way inferior to the selection in the large department stores of the cities.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CITIZENS ADDRESS LETTER TO HONECKER ON YOUTH PROBLEMS

DW041347 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 1 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of UN Youth Year, GDR citizens have addressed a letter to the GDR Government in which they demand the right for comprehensive education, free access to information, the right to assemble and to travel, free selection of place of residence, and "demilitarization of public life." The letter, signed by 26 GDR citizens, was handed to Greens Bundestag faction members by GDR peace movement circles and reads as follows:

To the GDR Government via E. Honecker,

1020 Berlin Marx-Engels-Platz,

The United Nations has declared 1985 to be the year of youth. This gives us cause to consider our responsibility toward the shaping of the GDR's youth policy. For this reason we are addressing this letter to the GDR Government. In this way, we want to outline our views on some of the government's decisions and actions, and to point out possible changes that we believe are indispensable for the free growth and development of the GDR young people.

Each young person must have the same rights, regardless of his social background and his political and ideological views. For a policy on young people as we understand it, the full implementation of some basic rights contained in the general statement on human rights are of particular significance. We do not intend to deal extensively here with what the GDR has achieved, and this does not mean that we mean to underrate or ignore these achievements. We are concerned about what should still be done in this respect in the GDR. The following are imperative for the full development and growth of the youth people: the right to a comprehensive education; free access to information and spiritual-cultural facilities; the freedom of assembly; the freedom to travel; free selection of the place of residence; and the demilitarization of public life.

The following are seven proposals to change the GDR's policy on young people:

1. Social privileges regarding education must not be replaced by political privileges. No one must suffer disadvantages because of his political opinions or because he is not a member of certain organizations such as the FDJ, GST (Society for Sports and Technology--ed) and so on.

Also, no one should enjoy privileges because of good political behavior (longer military service, application for military professions, assumption of certain functions, and so on).

2. Public educational institutions must be demilitarized. This means that the obligatory premilitary training at schools, vocational schools, colleges, technical colleges, and universities must be abandoned as long as they are not educational institutions of the NVA (National Peoples Army--ed).

3. State pressure for service in the army must be gradually reduced and eventually compulsory military service discontinued. An important step that could be implemented at present would be the creation of an alternate service.

4. Every young person must be able to express his opinion freely and publicly and bring it up for discussion without fear of being disadvantaged in his further training and professional development, or of being prosecuted under the criminal code.

5. The possibility of comprehensive spiritual-cultural education requires free access to information as well as the free development of culture and art. This means that the lifting of censorship or censorship-like stipulations is necessary. The possibilities for individual and uncensored publications must be created.

6. For a comprehensive exchange of opinions and information, meetings and assemblies by young people are a basic prerequisite. Therefore, the freedom to assemble without controls or registration must be guaranteed.

7. We consider the unnecessary travel restrictions to be a reason for many young people's resignation. Therefore, it is of special importance and a basic prerequisite for the free growth and development of the young people to loosen the travel restrictions to nonsocialist foreign countries as well and to also guarantee such travel possibilities to the young people.

CSO: 2300/289

HUNGARY

PARTY DAILY ON YALTA ANNIVERSARY

AU061354 Budapest NEPESZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by Peter Vajda: "Yalta"]

[Text] "The surroundings were fascinatingly beautiful. Behind the villa built in a mixture of gothic and Moorish styles, a huge, snow-capped mountain range with the highest peak of the Crimean peninsula towered in the background. The infinite and dark surface of the Black Sea spread out at our feet with its rolling waters, which were pleasantly warm even at this time of year. The entrance was guarded by white lions carved in stone."

Forty years ago, on 3 February 1945, these impressions were recorded by a visitor in his quarters; his style is flowing, the author having originally started on a journalist's career. Winston Churchill began his series of talks with Prime Minister Stalin and President Roosevelt in Livadia palace in Yalta the following day.

The negotiations at the Black Sea resort lasted for a week. This was the longest summit meeting during World War II and at the same time the last meeting between the allies with these leaders. (At the time of the subsequent meeting in Potsdam the war was already over, Roosevelt was already dead, and the unexpected result of the British elections brought a change at the head of the British delegation.)

At the Yalta conference, the allies were still on the common ground of antifascism: they agreed on the synchronization of military maneuvers aimed at destroying Germany and in a statement recorded among their goals: "The creation of guarantees that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. The disarmament and disbanding of the German army is indispensable, and so is the demilitarization of Germany, the dismantling of the German military industry, and the punishment of war criminals." The Soviet Union assumed the obligation to enter the war against Japan, and the three big powers developed an understanding concerning the principles governing the activity of the United Nations. Because of all this--and the historians agree on this point--the conference meant the climax of cooperation among the allies.

And it is perhaps connected with the latter fact that the historical heritage of Yalta--to put it nicely--is not uniformly evaluated. It is an appropriate formulation according to which a part of the Western press has for some time been waging a kind of second Crimean war: They equate Yalta with Munich, and accuse Roosevelt and even Churchill of almost the naivety of Chamberlain, and his submissiveness. Particularly in the last months and weeks when the Reagan administration has shown some willingness to return to the negotiating table, these attacks have become even more pronounced. George Will, one of the WASHINGTON POST's team of journalists, and an ultra-ultraconservative journalist who most rudely attacks the Yalta conference, does not even deny the connection. In a long article "1985--The Time Has Come to Denounce the Yalta Fraud," he concludes: The continuation of the Gromyko-Shultz talks and generally the revival of the process of arms limitation led to the "illusion" that a change of content was also possible in the relations. We have to avoid this "wishful thinking" at all costs. "Four decades of fraud are enough. The coincidence of the historical document with what they call the acceleration of Soviet-U.S. 'dialogue', and precisely this, makes it the proper moment to denounce the agreement."

It is worth pondering how little is needed to make the political Neanderthals lose their temper: the negotiations have not started yet and it would be premature to talk about genuine changes in Washington's positions--and the terrible danger of changes of content in the system of relations flashes in front of Will's eyes. And he is not alone. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security advisor of the previous U.S. president, also speaks up against Yalta. In an article published in the respected journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS he makes a series of proposals for the strengthening of a unified, new, Western "post-Yalta" and "anti-Yalta" strategy. First among his proposals is: "On a symbolic plane, it would be advisable for the leaders of the Western democracies solemnly and jointly to clarify in a solemn declaration the Western view of the historical heritage of Yalta at a not too distant time--perhaps on 4 February--and publicly to reject if not the agreement itself, at least its historical heritage, the division of Europe."

Only in this respect is Brzezinski more delicate than the malicious Will. Brzezinski started out from other planes and, having studied Latin, he knows the saying: "Pacta sunt servanda" (contracts are to be kept). And he knows from his own experience that the formal denial of agreements rarely leads to historical distinction: that is why he takes up a position in favor of "only" the denial of the historical heritage. The essence of his recipe: having denied the heritage Western strategy must be united in order to be able to distance Eastern Europe from the Soviet Union. "The kind of 'division of labor' between the United States and Europe in the framework of which the United States supports the 'upsetting activity' of those that think differently, while the Western states flirt with the official organs of Eastern Europe, can only lead to the defeat of the West."

In making the trumped-up charges against Yalta--as is the case with false accusations in general--they try to borrow the building bricks of reality. The given building brick is the following: the Yalta conference took place in the final phase of a war in which the main burden was borne by

the Soviet Union. Just a few weeks earlier, the German military command, combining the remaining 70 divisions, had begun a successful counterattack against Eisenhower's forces. On 6 January, Churchill sent a message to Stalin which said that the situation was serious. "You know very well from your own experience what a delicate situation emerges when, following a temporary loss of initiative, rather a wide front must be defended... I would be most grateful if you would let me know whether we could count on a considerable Russian offensive on the Vistula front during January or somewhere else, perhaps, if it is your intention to divulge this, that is...."

Stalin's answer--the planned offensive would be advanced in time and be started before the middle of January--came at a moment when the possibility of even a catastrophe flashed in the minds of the leaders of the allied forces, as they were not sure that they would be able to halt the German tanks. In his memoirs Churchill adds: "The Russians and their leaders acted really brilliantly when they speeded up the large scale offensive, undoubtedly at the cost of grave human sacrifices."

Barely 3 weeks passed between the beginning of the offensive and the Crimean conference. In addition, at the time of the talks, the U.S. strongly urged the Soviet Union to enter the war in the Far East, the end of which did not seem close at all to them. The U.S. chief of staff believed that "without Russia's entering the war, the United States might lose 1 million people in conquering Japan."

Taking all into consideration, the political and psychological precedents and the balance of forces were such that Roosevelt and Churchill could not, and after all, then and there, did not even want to take a position against Stalin, although there were tough debates on the issues of Polish representation and Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union considered as top priority the security of its borders and avoiding history repeating itself: the use of countries close to or neighboring the Soviet Union against it!

Acceptance of the Soviet need was only a part of the talks to work out acceptable compromises on the basis of mutual concessions. And the essential point is that one thing to accept the above-mentioned Soviet need, and another to claim it was agreed at the Crimean meeting to divide Europe into spheres of interest. All the documents of the Yalta conference were published and there is not a single word about this in them. Even Churchill, although he used all the available confidential documents in his memoirs, could not confirm with anything that the Soviet Union agreed with his conception in this respect, of which he allegedly informed Stalin 3 and a half months before the Crimean conference. (This is the strangest and unclearest part of Churchill's memoirs. It transpires from them that the scheme of dividing Southeast Europe into spheres of influence, whose starting conception was to preserve British superiority in Greece, was slipped by Churchill in a note to Stalin on the occasion of their bilateral talks in Moscow in October. Stalin "marked" the note with a blue pencil and gave it back to Churchill. Churchill interpreted the mark as agreement, although Stalin, to whom he presented the scheme verbally too, did not

react with any gesture or a single word. Three days later, Churchill drafted a letter to Stalin in which he admitted that the idea of division into spheres of influence originated with him, and at the same time he dissociated himself from his own note, of which, incidentally, he forgot to inform his U.S. allies. "The scheme would be interpreted in a superficial or even a cynical way, if it got into the hands of diplomats and foreign ministries all over the world. That is precisely why it cannot be the basis of any document intended for publication..." Churchill, however, by his own admission, never sent the letter--absolutely obviously because he was convinced that there was no "danger" that anybody would talk about this with him.)

Besides, Brzezinski, who now aims to eliminate the historical heritage of Yalta, barely 13 months ago in an interview given to TRIAKLOG, when a reporter cornered him, finally admitted that the division of Europe into parts was not on the agenda in any way in Yalta.

After Yalta came Potsdam, where Churchill already reacted thus to the secret report on the U.S. successful nuclear test: "Now we no longer need the Russians to defeat Japan." But the atomic bomb was needed to outline future policy in Fulton; the long years of cold war followed. More than 2 decades had to pass before the process of detente that led to Helsinki could start. As Janos Nagy wrote in an article on Yalta recently published in TARSADAMI SZEMLE, the document approved in the Finnish capital meant that "Helsinki accepted the political values inherent in Yalta and made them Pan-European. Helsinki was built on Yalta and is inseparable from it. That is precisely why the questioning of either of them would pull the ground out from under the whole European process."

(It is indeed so: George Will, as well as dispensing of Yalta, also demands the banning of Helsinki, too. Just as does one of the people who "think differently" so enthusiastically supported by Brzezinski, Gyorgy Konrad, who said this to the STERN: In Helsinki, going the wrong way, was ratified that Yalta agreement which "must be now overstepped....")

This year, as a result of a coincident in the calendar, several anniversaries at the same time give us an opportunity to look back, to reconsider the political lines. There is the anniversary of Yalta, then the 10th anniversary of Helsinki, and of course the anniversary of victory, the victory for which so many nations shed blood but for which no nation made greater sacrifices than the Soviet people. As Roosevelt said: "We cannot disregard the obvious fact that the Soviet troops destroyed more enemy soldiers and equipment than all the other states together."

It would be good to hope that 1985 will bring the spread of the realities of yesterday and today, and that those who govern will nowhere act in the spirit of proposals that deny Yalta but will progress on a possible road, the only possible road. Then, perhaps, the name of a third city might join that of Yalta and Helsinki, as a symbol of the fact that even after long detours it is possible to step forward on the path of reason: the name of the city of Geneva.

HUNGARY

## DURAY'S REFLECTIONS IN PRISON

Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN in German, Winter 84 pp 38-39

[Report by Miklos Duray: "Christmas in Prison"]

[Text] Minorities

Miklos Duray has been back in jail since 10 May 1984. He could be sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment if he should be indicted on the basis of paragraphs 112 and 199 of the Czechoslovak penal code--damaging the foreign interests of the republic and spreading inflammatory news. Miklos Duray is an activist of the Legal Protection Committee of the Hungarian minority in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (cf. GEGENSTIMMEN No 12/83). The reason for Duray's latest arrest were the protests of the committee against a new Slovak school law that would have made possible the complete dismantling of Hungarian-language schools in the southern part of Slovakia. Duray had addressed an open letter to Gustav Husak; over 10,000 Czechoslovak citizens belonging to the Hungarian minority had protested against the bill.

Hungarian opposition circles formed a "Duray Committee" in connection with Duray's recent arrest; historian Gyorgy Bence, BESZELOE editor Balint Nagy and environmentalist Janos Vargha are members.

Duray spent Christmas in jail once before--in 1982. The following report tells about his experiences at the time.

I would never have thought that Christmas could be my saddest day. Even before it I had felt depressed for days: I was afraid of not being able to do anything with the solemn atmosphere. My anguish started with the

arrival of my first Christmas parcels: the trifles they contained revived memories of the world outside the prison walls. But somehow they failed to create a real Christmas atmosphere. My mind was full of everything--childhood memories, Christmas customs, purchasing gifts, the glittering displays, all of the cooking and baking, and the intimate prayers on Christmas Eve; if only my family had been present, there would have been a real Christmas. Christmas is--I thought--when the family is together, and became very sad. The greatest pain was caused by the thought that now those who missed me and who maybe felt more hurt by my imprisonment than I did had also been deprived of their Christmas...

My lawyer visited me on 23 December. I wished him a merry Christmas, and he was so tactful as not to wish me likewise. He told me that the state's attorney had prepared my indictment. At least--I thought--the office had not forgotten me and had sent its "gift parcel" on its way on time...

In the afternoon the prisoner detail cleaned the corridors. We gathered from that that the following day would be "work-free" in the prison too. So we would celebrate the holiday.

On 24 December there was a noticeable stillness in our cell block. Maybe the corridor guards had been instructed not to make trouble on this day and to leave the prisoners alone. At noon we were fed a vegetable soup, and in the afternoon we were able to "bake." We got out our dry cookies, jam, butter, and honey, and stuck the cookies together in twos. We nibbled these cookies and enjoyed the quiet; the guards did not bang on the cell doors, did not go bellowing around and did not strike anyone.

We had fried fish for supper. Afterwards we sat quietly around the table, ate the rest of our cookies and listened to the bells whose sounds penetrated through the windows--there was something almost resembling peace in the cell. In our thoughts we were all certainly somewhere else.

My cellmate Miroslav the dentist was, in his thoughts, no doubt two floors higher, in his wife's cell. Another cellmate's--Robert's--thoughts had perhaps taken him home: He was weeping quietly and taking no notice of us whatsoever. Slowly we realized how depressing this quiet was. Kamil was the first to react. He took out his comb and tried to blow a well-known tune on it. When he finally succeeded, he started over and did not stop the entire evening--he played the same tune over and over again as if under duress. The two Marians could not remain still either. One of them kept climbing up to the cell window and watched when the Christmas lights came on in the windows of the houses opposite the prison. The other Marian was visibly overwrought: He threw a pillow to the floor now and then and grinned in the direction of the cell door. And Laci, whose Italian ancestors



had ended up in Levice/Leva and there had become Hungarians, Laci, who had changed from a Hungarian to a Slovak, cursed in Hungarian in noble simplicity.

Only the two of us remained quiet. Kalman, the boy from Sturovo/Parkany, was even stiller than he usually was. I did not know what he might be thinking about. I remembered Christmas 1979. It was my father's last Christmas. After the police actions in the summer, his emotional as well as his physical state worsened. His will to live ebbed away day by day. On Christmas Eve, as we were all standing around the tree, he embraced us; choking, he said only, "This is our last Christmas. Watch over your mother. Don't leave her alone!"

I knew that my father was right and would soon die. I grasped this not only mentally, but also with my senses: he smelled like Grandmother.

Now, in prison, I could not rid myself of this thought. My father's words rang in my ears. And I wondered if I would ever again see my mother. Alive. The merciless presence of accompanying images--that was Christmas in jail.

On the morning of 25 December we got a piece of roll and some cocoa. Later in the morning the sun shone. Everything was still quiet. I read in a corner. By lunchtime I was immersed in an old Irish legend about the invincible power of love. At lunch they brought us a piece of fried meat. Afterwards they threw apples into our cell through the peephole. The apples rolled in all directions; we had to get them out from under our beds.

That evening Robert and Laci got into a fight. Laci had called Robert a gypsy; Robert had called Laci a lying cunning peasant, an unprincipled Hungarian. They flew at each other during a dice game; there was talk of cheating--the stakes were a package of cookies.

On Sunday the 26th--St Stephen's Day--it was noisier in the corridor. I paid no attention to the familiar noise. That morning I read "Crime and Punishment". In the afternoon we were still sitting on our beds and were writing letters. We were very absorbed in this activity. About 4 o'clock we were roused by a loud noise: Someone had kicked the cell door. The peephole opened, and a guard shouted, "Straighten your pillows!" At first I did not know whom he meant. One of the Marians and I suspected that the guard had pointed to us. We jumped to our feet immediately and smoothed the pillows that we had pressed to the wall while writing our correspondence. But the guard did not desist and bellowed again, "Didn't you understand! Straighten your pillows!"

I smoothed it again. A few minutes later we heard steps out in the corridor coming closer. A key rattled, the lock clicked, and the safety bolt moved back. The door opened. There were four guards in the hall.

They gave the command, "Attention!" and pointed to me. "Come out at once." Holding my hands behind me, I went out. The cell door was closed behind me. I stood near the wall. Three guards surrounded me; the fourth one observed everything from a distance. "Did you talk back to the commandant?" "I didn't say a word," I answered. "Take off your glasses!" I understood what was coming. I assumed a straddling position and pressed my hands together behind my back. I did not have time to do anything else--a fist hit me in the face. I staggered and would have fallen if a second blow had not set me right again. All three were standing ready to attack and were obviously only waiting for me to try to defend myself or at least to hold my hands in front of me to protect myself. It was extremely difficult for me to suppress this reflex movement, but I knew that if I moved, they would beat me up in "self-defense." I stood there and glared like a wolf at the one who had stooped to such inhumanity as to strike a defenseless person. We stood like that for a while; then he dropped his hands. To prevent the business from ending this way, the guard standing next to him snarled at me, "Remember, you don't talk back to the commandant!"

Then they pushed me back into my cell.

Established in Budapest: Committee to Support Miklos Duray

9873

CSO: 3620/223

HUNGARY

ILLEGAL INCOME, WORK SHIRKERS DEFINED

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 21 Dec 84 p 36

[Article by Dr. Maria Tar, "The Attorney Answers"]

[Text] Last year in the fiftieth issue of our magazine we wrote about the modification of the Book of Criminal Law which is intended to change the lifestyle of work shirkers. We received a number of questions to this short survey, several people asked who qualifies as a work shirker. Many people think that if a person's identity card lacks registration from a workplace he is automatically a work shirker. The lack of registration from a place of employment is not a determinant in and of itself. At the request of the authorities the "work shirker" has to prove that he possesses legal income.

What is Legal Income?

After that the question is what do we mean by legal income? Occasional work which does not entail the duty of registration at the trade union social insurance center and which, of course, is not noted in either the labor book or on the work identification card, can also be legal. A person who performs this type of work is not branded a work shirker if he is able to show this activity is regular and his lifestyle does not indicate that he belongs to the company of saloon frequenters.

Naturally, free-lance employees who do not possess registration at a workplace also do not qualify as work shirkers if they are able to assure the necessary financial support for themselves and those family members which depend on them for their financial support.

The term work shirking primarily means peculiarities in lifestyle. The goal of legal control of work shirkers is to prevent a person inclined towards crime and society which is endangered by him from ending up in a penal relationship.

The punishment for penal idleness is expected to teach people to work. This has not been guaranteed by the corrective-didactic work specified until now by the

Book of Criminal Law, therefore from 1 January 1985, more restrictive rehabilitating and educating labor has been introduced.

#### More Restrictive Regulations

There is a significant difference between the penalties. In the case of less restrictive work the court selects a place of work which in certain cases can be the old workplace. For the criminal work shirker, the law enforcement agency decides where he has to work and live. This is a substantial difference because the right to personal freedom of the convict is not impaired in the milder form of punishment, while in the restrictive form it is significantly limited. Not only must he work in a specified workplace, but after work he must stay in accommodations with exceptionally strict house rules which he can leave only with permission. The convict can be obligated to take part in cleaning and specified work without payment and to pay a specified amount for board. In justified cases his salary may be attached.

If a person breaks the rules of the dormitory or workplace, he incurs a penalty which can be a reprimand, a reduction in salary, withdrawal of permission to leave the institution and, in more serious cases, a change in the sentence from rehabilitating and educating work to imprisonment.

#### This Does Not Mean a Criminal Record

More restrictive rehabilitating and educating labor does not signify certain working conditions, only that work is performed on the basis of punitive legal conditions. From the viewpoint of social insurance, however, this work must be taken into consideration when length of employment is determined.

With regard to a convict's job, the laws written down in the Labor Law Book which are valid for workers, are also valid for the convict, if they do not run contrary to the goal of punishment. For example, regulations concerning work time and rest time are valid, but the convict cannot receive vacation rewards for good work. He can, however, receive prizes, material and financial rewards, and he can receive waivers from disciplinary actions.

Since more restrictive rehabilitating and educating work can only be considered a worthwhile educational opportunity if it lasts for a considerable period of time, it can be imposed for one to three years. As an additional penalty the convict may be excluded from certain places or country regions for one to five years after release. At the same time, however, the provision of legal exoneration which is applied to those with less strict rehabilitating and educating work or misdemeanors, remains valid: from the day on which the punishment is completed the convict is freed from the prejudice pertaining to his previous record; his criminal record will be cleared.

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST CASTS LIGHT-HEARTED LOOK AT BURGLARY INCREASES

LD062326 Budapest in English to Europe 1150 GMT 6 Feb 85

[Text] An excursion--a light-hearted look at burglary, by Charlie Coutts:

Since the introduction of the economic reform in 1968, the Hungarian authorities have constantly called for accelerated development, structural change, and the revival of the spirit of enterprise. Now if there is one area of economic activity where that has had an enthusiastic response, it is burglary. The crime rate has accelerated, and the enterprising burglar has made a major contribution to this development.

In 1965, there were 5,636 cases of robbery by burglary; in 1983 there were 19,717. In 1970 the state insurance company paid to household policy holders in compensation for loss through burglary 3 million forints, in 1983 78 million forints. In 1970 the compensation paid against claims when the burglars got away with objects of very great value was 25,000 forints; in 1983 it was 26 million forints. Now, by any reckoning, the difference between the 70s and the 80s is a notable one: 3 million forints of swag in the 70s, 78 million in the 80s, an increase of somewhere around 2,700 percent. Even more spectacular is the difference between 25,000 and 26 million forints. I make that about 99,000 percent increase in 13 years. Perhaps my mathematics is a bit out but, in any case, it is a structural change of truly vast proportions.

The figures I quoted were given by the director of the state insurance company Imre Novak in the party daily NEPSZABADSAG on 12 November when he was interviewed by the paper's correspondent. Now, we phoned Mr Novak to ask if higher living standards, greater wealth on the part of one section of the population, and more investment in valuables were the reason for this big increase in insurance coverage and in compensation payments. He said, no. All those reasons played a part but the main reason has been a structural change in the nature of crime. In the 1970s most robberies by burglary were random affairs. The criminal depended on luck to make breaking-in worthwhile. Burglars in the 1980s have a more sophisticated approach. They work with (?more) observation and planning, they concentrate on the kinds of persons known to have valuable art collections, jewellery, precious stones, or stamp collections and, among the people they concentrate on are doctors.

Police reports over the past 10 years show that surgeons, gynaecologists and hospital doctors with private practices or doctors in a position to acquire what is known as gratitude payments are a favorite target of the modern, sophisticated burglar. By and large the burglars are onto a good thing in targeting doctors. At the moment there is a tremendous public debate over the cost of the free health service and it appears that patients in many cases are in the habit of giving doctors gifts of money in anticipation of, or in appreciation of, better treatment or priority attention.

And in a television roundtable on this subject, one in which the minister of health, Dr Emil Schultheisz, himself, took part, it was estimated that in any one year, the total gratitude cash given to doctors is in the region of 4 billion forints. Now, with figures like that being batted around, it's not surprising that many doctors have removed their titles from the doorplates in order not to attract the attention of potential burglars.

In any case, according to Mr Imre Novak, most owners of collections of objects of great value in Hungary do not bother to insure at all. Police records show that every year, there are around 10 cases of robbery, where the criminals get away with uninsured valuables in excess of 1 million forints. So much for the background to the rise in burglary rate and the burglars' response to the call for economic enterprise.

As in all areas of economic activities, whether they are legal or illegal, a report of this kind, specifically on the state of burglary, would not be complete without the usual complaints about unfair prices and lack of choice. According to the daily NEPSZABADSAG, burglar-proof locks, safety devices, and electronic alarms are overpriced and not available in a range broad enough to meet the different demands of the buyer, and in another issue of the same daily, in a report on the work of the Quality Control Commission after it had tested 1,000 articles, the commission is quoted as saying that the electronic alarm devices now on sale are defective; so much so, that they are likely to kill both burglar and owner. All in all, therefore, the paper is perfectly justified in quoting Mr Novak as saying that in this field, producers and retailers have a good deal of time to make up for or to catch up. Until they do, no doubt the pros in the burglary field will be able to afford the luxury of conforming to O. Henry's dictum; that a burglar who respects his art always takes his time before taking anything (?else).

CSO: 2020/64

HUNGARY

EFFECTS OF COLD WEATHER ON ECONOMY

LD231847 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Text] Budapest, 23 Jan (MTI)--The particularly cold weather with the average temperature of the coldest days 7 degrees below the average of 100 years has meant consumers have used an additional amount of energy, equivalent to 250 thousand tonnes of oil, at a cost of 2,500 million forints, 0.3 percent of the national income.

The cold wave in January increased fuel consumption by 40 percent, and on the coldest days the demand for natural gas exceeded domestic production and import by 2 million cubic meters. After reserves had been partially used, gas consumption of 11 large companies of the chemical industry, metallurgy, and constructing industry was cut by 25 percent. With [words indistinct] weather the number decreased to three cement factories with a maximum cut of 25 percent. There were shortcomings in power supply, and a breakdown of a power transmission line caused a 4-hour power limit for hundreds of industrial consumers. Shortage of coal caused problems in the provinces, although the Ministry of Internal Trade authorized the use of 75 thousand tonnes of central reserves. Seven thousand flats with centralized heating in Ozd could not heat for several days, and 40 schools were closed in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmar and Baranya counties. The only restriction affecting the population was the reduction of the 100-hour weekly TV programme by 23 hours. The measure is still in force.

CSO: 2020/65

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN PAPERS ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

AU041230 [Editorial Report] The Hungarian Central Press of 1 and 2 February carries the following articles and reports on the subject of environmental protection.

BUDAPEST NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 1 February on page 4 carries a 600-word MTI report on the session of the Council of Ministers headlined: "More Civilized Circumstances at Lake Balaton," on the central measures taken to protect the water quality of Lake Balaton and on the county councils fulfilling their tasks by "allocating 440 million forints more than planned for water quality investments." The report mentions the Council of Minister's decision on accelerating the organization and reconstruction of shoreline areas and facilities and "the need to enlarge the services on the shores." The Council of Ministers adopted a long-term development program up to the turn of the century.

BUDAPEST MAGYAR NEMZET on 1 February on page 5 carries a 1,100-word article by Peter Kertesz headlined: "What Gets Into the Public Sewage Pipes." The article discusses the pollution problems of sewage water pipes mostly dating back to the 18th century, and their inability to function properly under the increased pressure. In the answers supplied to questions put by the author of the article, Mrs Aoltan Vido, head of the Water Protection Department, provides information about numerous materials getting into the sewage system for which enterprises are fined, and the need to use filtering installations. The main problem is that "the amount of the fines is hardly proportionate to the crime," and the enterprises claim that "it is still better to pay the fines and account them as expenses than to create a modern sewage water purifying system." The author also mentions the difficulty in catching those contravening the regulations and the delay in the implementation of a pollution avoidance plan in case of emergencies at the enterprises. The solution, according to the author of the article, seems to be the establishment, up to the turn of the century, of a network of biological control stations along the Danube that will finally solve the purification of all the piped sewage of Budapest.

BUDAPEST MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 2 February on page 1 carries a 450-word editorial headline: "Decibels", on noise pollution, its effect on general health, and the damage to the people's economy. The report describes the regulation laid down by the Council of Ministers a year ago on the fines to be paid by those contravening the regulations, and praises their implementations.



BUDAPEST NEPSVANA in Hungarian on 2 February, on page 7 carries a 1,500-word interview given by Kalman Abraham, State Secretary, chairman of the National Environment and Nature Protection Office, to Szabolcs Baroti. The interview covers the establishment of new national parks, putting a halt to the deterioration of Baradla Cave, the need for scientific research work to improve nature protection activities, the activity of the newly established Nature Protection Service, the need for new experts and the instruction of existing ones in nature protection activity, the favorable change in the instruction of teachers, pupils and students on the subject, the need for more harmonized propaganda activity covering nature protection, and the need to change the attitude of the population regarding the importance of environmental protection.

No further processing planned.

CSO: 2500/239

POLAND

## EAST-WEST DIALOGUE IMPROVES POLAND'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Jan 85 p 6

[Editorial by Wlodzimierz Zralek: "Geneva And Poland"]

[Text] In a conversation with Soviet journalists, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko characterized the results of his meeting with American Secretary of State George Schultz as good. At the same time, he asserted that in spite of an agreed upon agenda and goals for future arms talks, no one could presently foresee the course and result of those talks. To a question concerning this he gave the following reply: "That's a question to which an exact answer is very difficult to give. I think that if a hundred sages were gathered together, not even they could answer such a question."

Exactly in this sense, the cautious word "chance," which is generally being used to characterize the outcome of the Geneva meeting, is a precise one. It is a matter here of two levels, that is to say, of the possibilities developing out of, on the one hand, bilateral Soviet-American relations and, on the other, the overall improvement in the international situation. The status of the two world powers has always caused their disagreements to set the tone of East-West relations. These relations pointed the way, over 10 years ago, to Helsinki.

I am of the opinion that there will be no mass conversion to the polnocentric view of the world--a view against which Wojciech Jaruzelski cautioned during a meeting with the conference participants in Jablonna--even if we claim that Poland has specific reasons for seeing in the prospects created by Geneva a chance for itself as well. We are, after all, a country which, by right of its central place on the map of Europe, recognized better than many other European countries how closely all the virtues of detente attend our position. We are also a country that experiences not only the effects of any particular development in the internal situation but which also most acutely feels all the consequences of increases in international tension.

In writing about the period of detente, I mean neither to idealize it nor to forget that the then-negotiated economic agreements with our Western partners--and the resultant credits--were often tied to poor decisions. The cost of those poor decisions burdens us heavily today. But this quite subjective factor does not change the objective fact that because of Poland,

detente provided specific opportunities for active functioning. But growing tension worked to the detriment of Poland's international position. This tension deepened all our internal problems, but it was neither their exclusive nor their main cause.

How many blows have been aimed against us in recent years: from the Reaganite economic sanctions to genuine and propagandistic aggression, from calling into question the Yalta agreements and stirrings of vengeful, revisionist tendencies of the FRG to a campaign orchestrated against Poland in Western countries traditionally friendly to us, such as even France.

Were the results of the Geneva meeting really to turn out to be an impulse giving new direction to the international situation, what would be the chances that Poland might rebuild its earlier position?

A realistic reply must, above all, take into account all the difficulties in this regard. It must be foreseen that the capitals of some Western nations, and especially Washington, for a long time yet will not desist in their efforts to exploit Poland's internal problems to the end of maximizing Poland's exclusion from international dialogue. Were we to regard the situation apart from this tendency's circumstances, we would have to give first place to the dimensions of our debts. They place us in a disadvantageous situation not only on the economic level but on the political level as well.

But while considering our weakness, we also ought to be counting our tricks. We would engage in a new phase of international relations--were such a phase actually to begin--with Poland's position among the socialist partners having been re-established. In addition, there has begun the process of breaking out of the isolation imposed upon Poland by Western nations whose representatives assert that the permanent elimination of our country from ongoing dialogue would be not only unrealistic but also disadvantageous. Another good sign is the development of Poland's domestic situation in the direction of stabilization, which itself is a deciding factor in making possible our activities on the international but above all on the European level.

I shall return, in conclusion, to that meeting of Andrey Gromyko with the Soviet journalists noted earlier. A question arose as to how, over the course of future negotiations with the United States, the interests of the socialist partners of the USSR would be taken into account. The response was: "We take those interests fully into account. The Soviet Union acts vis-a-vis the Western countries and the United States in its own name and in that of its allies as well. We conduct a common, principled policy. That fact adds strength to our policy. We systematically discuss these matters at sessions of the Political Advisory Committee as well as at sessions of other Warsaw Pact organs. This is our common policy."

Common--just as much in the area of maintaining a guaranteed military balance between East and West as in carving out a path to a return to the tenets of coexistence and detente in international relations. In other words to the creation of conditions right for Poland's chances as well.

POLAND

## PARTY INCREASES RECRUITMENT DRIVE IN RURAL AREAS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with Stefan Zawodzinski, director of The PZPR Central Committee Agricultural Department, by Halina Dowda: "Seeking Allies From Among the Good and Best"; date and place of interview not given ]

[Text] [Question] There is talk that the farmers are continuing to abandon the party, that the defection persists, although in the past, in terms of percentile figures, more peasants defected than all other groups of party members. The insignificant number of newly enrolled farm members is pointed out. What effect have these alarming circumstances had upon the condition of the party in rural areas?

[Answer] If we are to compare the number of peasants involved to the rest of the party members in 1979 and 1984 the difference barely exceeds one-half of 1 percent, or 9.6 to 9 percent, respectively. The ratio did not vary, although in reality approximately 90,000 peasant withdrew from the party. Similar changes were registered in the rest of the party and for that reason we cannot single out the rural area as a typical example. The greatest number of farmers left the party in 1981 and 1982. Later this trend slackened.

[Question] Many of the rural party officials claim that quite a few of the farmers will return to the party.

[Answer] Many reasons for leaving the party were cited. Most often the people defecting were the ones who just wandered in by chance. Their absence will not be sorely felt. Quantity is not the only thing that is important. Members with many years of seniority who carried a lot of authority and earned respectable positions in the organization also left. They resigned formally but still remain involved. These are the people we have to fight for and the ones we have bring back into the party.

From All the Groups of Farmers

[Question] According to current opinion only the poorest join the party.

[Answer] That statement does not coincide with the facts. The rural party

members basically reflect the structure of agricultural farms. I am stressing that this does not include farms with a dual function character. Members from this category of farms belong to primary party organizations at their place of employment.

More than 64 percent of the farmer party members are recruited from medium and large farms. For instance, farmers from 5- to 10-hectare farms (these constitute 25 percent of the peasant farm lands) make up 39 percent of the rural party membership, while from units larger than 10 hectares we have 23 percent. This arrangement presents very promising possibilities for rural party accomplishments. That this is not always true in theory is beside the point.

[Question] Farmers in these groups have proven to be outstanding in their efforts when it comes to increasing farm production and furthering social improvements in the community. There is no doubt that the party must seek friends and allies among eminent farmers. In the future we will have to recruit our new members from among these individuals.

[Answer] This must be done now and not in the future. We do not mean to start a membership drive, but still we cannot be passive about this. Farmers have joined the party even in the worst of times. From the majority of rural and gmina organizations nobody has resigned or been expelled. Some of them have even noticeably expanded and flourished. The situation varies. There can be no doubt about the fact that the party must recruit new members. The concept of a sustained, systematic development and party expansion in the rural areas is a very vital one. Continual expansion of rural but particularly the gmina administrations is of the greatest importance. In each of the communities there are good, active and influential farmers. We should address ourselves to them and the rural organizations ought to give them assistance.

[Question] But aren't those precisely the same organizations that have been accused of lacking initiative even in their internal party functions?

[Answer] Generalities can be dangerous and activities very greatly. By what standards should we judge them? Let us begin with the premise that rural communities differ from one another. There are approximately 9,500 villages that do not have the necessary requirements for establishing a party organization. In comparison, nearly 26,300 organizations at the primary level are active in the rural areas. In more than 3,000 villages there are no organizations, although they have adequate qualifications for their establishment. Primary organizations also differ when you consider their activity. Many of them are small, having only a few members.

[Question] Can they all be evaluated by using only one criterion, which in many cases is a mere formality concerning the regularity of meetings? Usually, activity is judged by the actual number of meetings held.

[Answer] The organization has to satisfy the statutory requirements. Not quite a year ago we initiated party education courses specifically designed for the rural communities. These were prepared by the party organization with

cooperation of the ZSL unit, intended for all rural inhabitants. These instruction meetings produced a side effect whereby many of the nonaffiliated farmers showed up to attend them. Was this only occasioned as a result of discussions which covered subjects of vital interest to the rural communities, or was it the effect of thorough preparations which were made by the party organizations and coordinated party political moves?

Joint open party meetings will be held this winter. Once again, important questions pertaining to the rural community will be discussed, for example, the role of people's councils in the development of agriculture and improvements of the farm population's living conditions. We are deeply concerned about this facet of party efforts. Primary organizations are given the opportunity to present their case to a larger forum and provide the rural population with a more thorough knowledge of party policies.

If They Should Select Us...

[Question] Open meetings will provide more points for an agenda. Will such meetings improve the effectiveness of the rural organization in the course of its everyday performance? Will they strengthen their authority, provide new members?

[Answer] How should we judge the power of the party's influence and also that of authority? That the agricultural policies have been accepted has been shown by resulting production figures--these at least give some comparison. Can we consider this as a satisfactory answer? After all, it can be said that there still are many poor results showing inefficiency, carelessness and the tendency to put the blame for all the shortcomings on the weaknesses of party organization. In today's complicated atmosphere and particularly at this juncture we have to analyze our evaluation carefully.

Doesn't the involvement of party members in the various levels of self-government appear significant? They were selected at secret meetings during the time of political struggle. As a matter of fact, they comprise 30 percent of members to the supervisory councils at the bottom rung of the gmina organization ladder. At the provincial level there are even more--43 percent. Isn't this proof of the party's authority and the confidence it carries? In my estimation this is proof positive.

In Office and School...

[Question] The rural party identifies with rural organizations and farmers. However, there still are organizations within the state and cooperative establishments which function in gmina offices, in cooperatives and in the schools. They appear to be on the perimeter of public interest.

[Answer] I don't agree with that, although in reality they are not mentioned too often. We are initiating joint efforts which will involve rural organizations with the gmina administration work force and units of the agricultural service. Contacts between private farmers, the state farm work forces and members of production cooperatives should be promoted at the party level.

These efforts promote the activization of the party at the rural level and complement the attempts of its members. This, however, is not the ultimate goal. We are looking for new party work methods which would provide more effective ways of solving agricultural problems and at the same time those which fact the rural inhabitanace. All in all, there are 600,000 rural party members.

[Question] Without peasant labor?

[Answer] We are trying to acquaint ourselves better with that segment of the party, which is not too often found in the rural community. We are not interested in statistics but would like to bring these people into active party participation. Organizations and managements offer a variety of initiatives, but in spite of this they often hear in response to their question the answer: "I am a laborer, not a farmer."

[Question] The rural community is becoming more knowledgeable about the party. Recently the Skierniewice and lately the Opole provincial committees scrutinized the situation. Disturbing signals had the effect that the rural political campaign took off with a fury.

[Answer] Steadfastness will be valued more than just plain impetus. In reality, there are numerous proposals pending. What is needed is persistency to carry them through.

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POLAND

## PARTY FUNCTIONS WITHIN SUPREME CONTROL CHAMBER DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jan 85 p 3

[Interview with Sylvester Tarczynski, first secretary of the Plant Committee in the Supreme Control Chamber, by Izabella Wajszczuk: "Control in Party Focus"]

[Text] A discussion regarding the ways and means of control in the state and its significance to the state dominated the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee [KC] of the PZPR, accenting the role and responsibility of party organizations for the enhancement of efficient control.

[Question] And so, what duties does the party organization in the Supreme Control Chamber, the highest supervisory agency in the state, impose upon itself? My guest is the first secretary of the Plant Committee [KZ] in the Supreme Control Chamber [NIK], Sylvester Tarczynski.

[Answer] First, a brief reference to what the NIK supervises: Well, our main objective is the control of operating systems, entire structures and not individual plants, enterprises or institutions. In general, we simultaneously supervise many plants in the same line of work or which belong to the same field of activity. It has to do with finding out whether there is error in the broader scope, an error in the method of directing or managing a branch or a considerable segment thereof.

[Question] Therefore, you are not only expected to ascertain facts, including those that are exclusively unfavorable, even though such a role is indeed commonly attributable to NIK?

[Answer] A NIK inspector, after ascertaining the facts, is supposed to respond on the basis of those facts to the question: "why?" That is his duty. It is hence a matter of showing reasons, because the results are also frequently evident to laymen. Coping with such demands is not easy and so our party organization devotes a large part of its activity to caring about the high level of NIK cadre. To be a conscientious and honest inspector is not enough. It is important for him adequately to understand not only the meaning of the duties of such a control agency as NIK, but also the social functions of control.



Like every party organization we, therefore, conduct ideological-educational and political work, but besides that our work includes all areas of the institution's life, consistent with statutory rights. We have subordinated party training to that end, which had been conducted in an erratic fashion; we strive to maintain the high level of this training, which is geared to the level and expectations of the members of our organization. For example, we conduct a branch office for the Annual Social Science Study Course, with its program of tests and examinations. The majority of NIK employees, 54 percent, are party members.

[Question] NIK enjoys social recognition. Public opinion polls conducted following the 16th Plenum provide proof of this, during the course of which most individuals favored seeing the worker-peasant inspectorate work jointly with the NIK. Expressing themselves in this manner, the poll respondents did not know, however, that one of the statutory duties of NIK is the responsibility to cooperate with social control as well as initiating social control action. To what extent is this a topic for the action of the party organization toward its members?

[Answer] I shall quote a short excerpt from the resolution made at our last party meeting. It has to do with the work over the near term..."expand and improve ways of cooperating with representative agencies party echelons and organizations, as well as elements of party control."

A resolution of the PZPR KC Politburo of 16 October on the matter of party endeavors geared toward improving the efficiency of control became a very important document to us. On the one hand, this represents our commitment to systematic vocational improvement and as a result to guaranteeing an increasingly higher level of our work; however, on the other hand, we understand this as the necessity for seeking through us new, more effective, better performing ways of cooperation in life with various agencies of social control.

For the party organization in NIK, the most essential aspect of this resolution is the fact that it creates conditions for developing and enhancing the cooperation of inspectors with party organizations in the plant. These are new possibilities which should promote better utilization of post-control proposals. In such joint action, the joint discovery of ways and means for improving the effectiveness of the system of internal plant control would be most valuable. This same resolution demonstrates the necessity for developing the social front in the struggle for observance of social justice, for prudent management and legal order. And we submit this portion of the resolution precisely as an obligation to cooperate with and simply to aid the agencies of social control. But not solely, because in the framework of cooperation, we wish--and we regard this as a most important duty--to encourage social organizations functioning in the plants as well as technical management to fulfill their control functions. We reckon that party organizations, which also do not always and everywhere fully utilize their control assignments, will aid us in this respect.

[Question] Apparently you do not expect the situation to change from day to day, although the resolution concerns the entire party, and hence that NIK inspectors will leave the plant quite safely--that their work will be the starting point for the better work of teachers and the inspector himself will receive a farewell smile and expressions of gratitude.

[Answer] Expressions of gratitude are not all that infrequent for us; it is worse with the smile, especially at the beginning. It would be an illusion to expect us to be liked; however, we strive to gain respect. Obviously we do not expect a day-to-day improvement. However, we are convinced that against a background of all endeavors recently undertaken, both party and state, the basic party organizations will perceive their control functions better. And then they will more generally perceive an ally in the NIK inspector.

[Question] I am interested in knowing who the NIK employees are. Please expatiate the most characteristic traits.

[Answer] Ninety-five percent of the essential cadre possesses a higher education. This is a prerequisite. In addition, we insist on vocational and--this is very important--life experience, an unblemished attitude and active acceptance of our political system's principles. Many of our employees, before coming to NIK, held responsible posts. It is not difficult to determine that a NIK inspector is generally a mature person. The average employee's age is approximately 50 years. More than one-half of the cadre has been employed by NIK for more than 6 years, and of that amount a substantial number for 20 to 25 years and longer. It is not simple to introduce good, useful control, especially since the inspector works alone, thus creating a feeling of very psychologically oppressive, exceptionally high responsibility. However, whoever survives the initial 5 years and does not resign, or is not compelled to resign by the NIK, remains for a long while, becoming a real inspector with the passion of an economic activist.

[Question] In my view of the authority of the NIK, decisive is not only the skill of its employees but also the fact that NIK inspectors do not yield to customary temptations which other supervisors sometime succumb to. How do you account for this?

[Answer] Certainly a very conscientious selection of cadre and almost uninterrupted internal influence from the party organization as well as management. In NIK qualifying evaluations, individual interviews have been systematically conducted for a long time. Not only as a secretary, but also as a long-term NIK employee I feel that we have a traditional "clean atmosphere," that is an inseparable part of our institution. Concern for this atmosphere is our daily obligation as party members.

But on the basis of discussions at party meetings and interviews, I think that the fact that the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic benefits from his work is greatly significant to the inspector. This places one under an immense obligation, but it also helps. It is moral support and satisfaction.

POLAND

PARTY INVOLVEMENT IN CULTURAL AFFAIRS DISCUSSED

Input of Creative Artists

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by Michal Misiorny: "Regarding the Situation in the Creative Community: Accomplishments and Anxieties"]

[Text] Figures alone do not tell us much about the role and the significance of the community of writers and artists who are members of PZPR. Among nearly 2 million party members, they are not the big numbers. The role and the significance of that community are defined, however, not by its numbers but by the impact of their creative effort and by their personal involvement in shaping the party program, in giving impulse which stimulates and enriches the intellectual and artistic life of the country.

Recently it has been widely assumed that the community of creative party members had suffered major losses at the peak of the Polish crisis, i.e., in 1980-82. This belief, in its extreme form, suggests that at present that community is totally devoid of prominent personalities, is divided, and has little impact or virtually none at all. It is not hard to guess who has to gain by promoting such beliefs. But a totally contradictory opinion would be just as wrong. The community has, indeed, suffered severe losses, and it no longer resembles the one we remember from the 1970's.

Who then is gone? First of all, the time-servers are gone: that is an occurrence normal at a period of upheavals and breakdowns. Next, those often valuable people who had been crushed by the 1980 events and experience are gone, too. Some have succumbed to the persuasive arguments of others and have "converted," others surrendered to their own insecurity, disillusionment, and disorientation. Save for some exceptions, they did not cross over the "trenches" of the party's political opponents. Their present situation is not an easy one; one thing about them we know for sure: they closely watch the party, and evaluate each of its steps toward overcoming the crisis which, after all, had affected the party itself as well. After some delay, some of them will probably return to the party.

## The Value of Activity

The last years' defections have not strengthened the party's creative community--that is for sure--but because of them the situation inside the community has become, to put it figuratively, clearer and more transparent.

Its active core, too, has gained strength. Already during the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party it became quite obvious that writers and artists, both delegates and guests, creatively contributed to the preparation of the program draft which subsequently became the basis of the cultural policy of the party and of our state authorities. In the intraparty debates of that time--and this, too, should be borne in mind--inspiration and ideas came to the fore, which later brought fruit in the Sejm activity and became embodied in institutions such as the National Culture Council, or the National Culture Development Fund, as well as in the whole legislative process which paved the way for the restoration of order, reforms, and modernization of various areas of our cultural life. The party aktiv in the creative community has contributed overwhelmingly to actions aimed at the reconstruction of artistic associations, and at present participates actively in their operations. Finally, its participation in those new structures of intraparty activity, which after the Ninth Congress have become standard for the operation of party committees at all levels, should not be forgotten. Nationwide party functions of writers, theatrical people, musicians, fine artists, film-makers, affiliated with the Department of Culture at the PZPR Central Committee, as well as commissions sponsored by provincial party committees and by some city committees, have emerged as important and active advisers or animators of actions and solutions undertaken by those committees. Party factions have also become consistent spokesmen for the policy of renewal and reconciliation, guided by the supreme cause, which is (or should be) the wellbeing and the continuous development of Polish culture.

## Essential Questions

If, from the vantage point of the turn of the years 1984 and 1985, we look back at the balance sheet of the last 3 years of functioning of the party creative cultural community, we are convinced that the accomplishments have been considerable. But, at the same time, is this also generally obvious?

In our times culture is one of the more actively pursued areas of semiovert and covert political and ideological struggle. There is nothing new about this, but since 1980 the forms of this struggle have become more intense and their scope has increased. A major battle--overt but disguised at the same time--is being waged for the essence of the Polish national heritage, for its interpretation and future orientation. An intensive and unscrupulous smear campaign, initiated in 1980, is still going on; it aims at discrediting people and their work, and in particular at the deprecation of all the accomplishments of the 40 years of People's Poland--in particular as far as culture is concerned. At stake in this clash is the political-historical and cultural consciousness of the younger generation of Poles, of our successors.

Today one can, and should, pose the question of whether the party creative community (like its ideologically creative community of social science scholars)

is well enough prepared for this conflict, whether it is sufficiently active in this domain, whether it will be able to oppose the political and ideological adversary by means of clear-cut and attractive information, and of the presentation of opinions and options.

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The answer to these questions will not be easy. In recent years the prevailing activity of the party aktiv within the creative community has focused on the organization of cultural life under the complex circumstances of crisis in economy and management; it has protected the interests of culture (its creators and consumers), it has contributed to programmatic reform measures and to the reconstruction of the associations. It has been a major--and, as we see it now, fruitful--effort.

But has the substance of their own works been as obvious as the significance of those pedestrian though necessary efforts? Have theirs been oeuvres capable of stoking the dispute/combat, waged in the various conflicting mainstreams, with strong, perhaps even decisive, arguments and reflections, with vision and inspiration?

Some important books did indeed come out; I will not list them all, confining myself to two only, both drawn from the area of sociocultural and political essay-writing: "Violence and Persuasion" and "The Innermost Eye." There is good reason to recall these titles. Both might have served as attractive leaven for the discussion, one having been submitted by a party publisher, the other one by a party writer. Both were solidarily passed over in silence by the nonparty media, the Catholic for instance; what is even more interesting, the party media, too, begrudged them any deeper interest. Alas, in one case a party weekly even dared to slight one of the books.

#### What Counts: The People and Their Works

The answer to the question of whether all this has happened just by coincidence will certainly reveal the conspicuous absence (or rather, inaudibility) of the party voice in the ongoing controversy. It derives from the limited articulation capabilities, and from the chimerical reception of substantial oeuvres. Consequently, we must learn from our ideological adversaries even how efficiently to support and to promote our own writers. Could one just fancy that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, for instance, would explicitly, ironically, from the unimaginable heights of a know-it-all attitude, discredit any book written by one of its contributors or sympathizers?

We are not faced then with a situation in which the voice of the left could resound in the community, and--what is even more important--would be allowed to ripen, to acquire tone and implication. What is more, such a situation breeds frustration, less visible perhaps among the party aktiv in the creative community but prevalent among the grassroots party members. The talks recently held in the party organization of Warsaw writers have revealed deep skepticism of the comrades concerning the possibility of articulating and defending their postures in face of a broader audience. In other community organizations, on the other hand, one can discern growing pigheadedness of a kind--as a reaction to the disloyalty of the media, including those published by the RSW Plasa. Let us also add that the defense of any balanced and reasoned arguments has

been rendered more difficult by the fact that low-quality works did indeed appear as well, and tried to promote partisan group interests under the cloak of the party. What sense does it make to argue that the party admits exclusively prominent authors? Or that blatant mass-scale kitsch does appear on the other side of the ideological divide, too? According to the "vacuum" theory, which supposedly--if an influential weekly is to be believed--is typical for present-day Polish culture, the empty spaces are filled in solely by our home-bred weaklings. Our adversaries are tactically much more mature: they avoid public disavowal of their own "successors," who in turn are all too happy to fill in the "voids"; they prefer to keep quiet, or to dismiss the subject with a cliché.

I do not intend to engage in sterile polemics; I only suggest raising the most important--today--issue, related to the expected and desirable public resonance of all the creative works and oeuvres, produced by the party creative community. The problem is even more urgent, since the essential organizational effort has already been accomplished; from now on it is the program, the polemics, the ideological suggestion, and the artistic oeuvre that count. However, the expected values, if deprived of resonance, deprived of sound promotion and publicity--we should not be afraid of this term!--are bound to disappear and to dissolve. Signs of unnecessary frustration will multiply instead.

#### Positive Developments in Cinema

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Jurczynski: "The Film Industry: An Open and Active Policy"]

[Text] The repertoire and production problems of the Polish film industry were discussed on Monday, 14 January, by the Cultural Commission of the PZPR Central Committee, chaired by Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the Central Committee (the commission's chairman, Comrade Hieronim Kubiak, did not attend).

In addition to commission members, the session was attended by deputies, members of the Sejm Cultural Commission, headed by its chairman, Lukasz Balcer; members of the presidium of the Main Board of the Association of Polish Film-makers, with its chairman, Janusz Majewski; representatives of the Ministry of Culture, film directors of feature and short-subject movies, representatives of various cinematography institutions, and invited guests.

The lively, interesting, and polemical discussion was introduced by Jerzy Kawalerowicz, chairman of the nationwide faction of party film-makers, and by Jerzy Bajdor, deputy minister of culture and arts, head of the film industry. Jerzy Kawalerowicz dealt with the atmosphere in the film-making community, and pointed out some tangible achievements of the normalization process. Recent years have demonstrated that maturity and realism have prevailed there.

Jerzy Bajdor described the road the Polish cinema has traveled over the last few years, and pointed out the pragmatic attitudes which are taking hold within this community. Presenting the positive experience of the Gdansk festival, he listed some subject areas which failed to raise the interest of film-makers and their teams. Mass-audience and entertainment movies are not a

substitute proposal, as some aesthetes among film critics seem to believe. There is no division between a mass-audience movie and an ambitious film. Those are two mainstreams, which grow side by side. No one can put together any repertoire without viewers, and the viewers have indeed been courted over the last 2 years. This has been confirmed by the growing audience attending Polish-made films. There are no grounds for anxiety over any decline of the artistic cinema, stated Jerzy Bajdor, even though as far as contemporary issues are concerned there are still some programmatic gaps.

Wiktor Krasowicki, head of the film-distributing enterprise in Warsaw and chairman of the board of the Polkino association, said that film distribution is affected by the rules of the reform based on self-financing. He suggested creating a system which would allow for profits from film-making, without compromising anything of substance in the cultural policy which gives preference to Polish films and to films ideologically and artistically valuable.

Marek Nowicki, vice chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Film-makers Association, focused on the interaction between state sponsorship and the [film-makers'] community, pointing out advantages derived from their joining forces. Bogdan Poreba touched on several subjects, dealing, inter alia, with activities of the political extremists supported by their patrons in the West. Jerzy Bossak, a nestor of the Polish documentary cinema, insisted on the need for a broad range of subjects in film-making. Stanislaw Kuszewski pondered on the image of the viewer to whom the films are addressed, while Janusz Majewski, chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Film-makers Association, stressed the need for setting up a state committee for the film industry. Film directors Jerzy Ziarnik and Zbigniew Kuzminski, and Stanislaw Stefanski, director-general of Radio and TV, also took the floor.

Jerzy Bajdor, replying to many doubts, stated inter alia that cinema is the domain not only of pure art but of politics as well; this obvious truth should be kept in mind.

Witold Nawrocki, head of the Department of Culture in the PZPR Central Committee, underscored the open character of the cultural policy of the party and of the state; the welfare of the country is its sole unviolable limit.

Summing up, Waldemar Swirgon said that the session of the Cultural Commission had a double goal. It was convened on the eve of a plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee which will be devoted to the place and the role of the creative intelligentsia. Another reason for this meeting was to listen to remarks concerning the film industry law. It would be desirable to pass it before the end of the current term of the Sejm. It should be worked out jointly by all the interested parties. He added that as far as the interested parties are concerned, we suggest a ground rule which says that a common assessment of the past is not a precondition for arguing together about the future. The limits are set by the systemic principles. But no one should confuse the openmindedness of our cultural policy with neutrality. Our policy is open but active, it defines its attitude to the product and its mass circulation.

POLAND

PZPR AGITPROP UNIT PUBLISHES GUIDANCE ON PRIVATE SECTOR ROLE

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 26, 23 Dec 84 pp 3-23

/Pamphlet by Jan Stocki: "The Role of the Nonsocialized Sector in the National Economy"; a publication of the PZPR Central Committee Information Department/

/Excerpts/ Social ownership of the means of production is a basic feature characteristic of the socialist economic system. Socialization of the means of production results makes the current and long-range material and cultural needs of the society the objective purpose of economic activity under socialism.

For that reason, after political power has been gained and reinforced, it is one of the most important tasks of the socialist state to introduce social ownership of the means of production providing a basis on which rests the entire political, ideological, legal, cultural and administrative superstructure serving the progress of the socialist society.

Socialization of the basic means of production is not necessarily restricted to taking over the property of the bourgeois state, expropriation of large property owners, and creating socialized ownership in the formal and legal sense. It is essential and more complicated to socialize the means of production in the economic sense, that is, to set up a new system of planning and management and perpetuate the control of the working class over these means.

Forms of socialization of the means of production as well as its scope and pace follow from the entirety of socioeconomic conditions and from the attained level of economic development in individual economic sectors.

The economy of a country is a complex unified organism shaped by the course of history in which every enterprise, every manufacturing plant and service establishment plays a certain role. Therefore, overhasty decisions on eliminating any of the useful elements in manufacturing and services associated with small private property can adversely affect the degree to which social needs are met in the absence of the socialized sector rapidly taking over these activities.

It should be stressed here that in the transition period from capitalism to socialism a large group of small-scale producers, such as artisans, cottage industry workers and especially farmers, exists in all countries along with the capitalist owners which are subject to expropriation.



Despite all the distinct character of small-scale producers resulting primarily from the private ownership of a farm or a craftsman's shop, substantial traits occur which bind them to the working class. The economic activity of small-scale producers is primarily based on the personal work of producers and family members.

Small-scale private manufacturing in the form of small production and service establishments, in crafts, private retail and food service outlets, transportation enterprises, etc., does not pose a threat to the existence and development of the socialist economy; the elimination of these enterprises can result in greater economic losses than social gains. It is the task of the socialist state to control this form of property thoroughly and subordinate its operation to the needs and purposes of the socialist economy.

#### System of Controlling the Nonsocialized Nonagricultural Sector

The nonsocialized economy outside of agriculture is subject to inspections by numerous organs of state administration as well as social control bodies.

Both the entirety of operations and their individual aspects are subject to inspection. In the latter case, inspections are carried out by specialized inspection organs.

Both a preliminary investigation on which the granting of licenses to operate hinges and current inspections during the operation of a business are made with regard to the units of nonsocialized economy outside of agriculture.

Preliminary investigations into personal qualifications of those petitioning for licenses to operate manufacturing, retail, food service or service establishments are carried out by the organs of state administration granting operating licenses for these activity, by requesting information from the Central Register of Convictions. Information on the criminal record of the applicant is the subject of investigative proceedings. The decision to turn down the application for a license is made with regard to persons who have been legally convicted by the courts of crimes enumerated by the regulations on engaging in a particular activity. Specifically, this applies to the crimes of misappropriation and speculation, if it follows from the nature of the crime that the social interest would be threatened should the applicant engage in the intended economic activity.

A legally valid ruling by the court or a ruling collegium imposing an additional penalty in the form of prohibiting an activity or banning work in a profession also gives grounds for refusing to grant a given individual a license to operate.

Proper authorities in charge of licensing for crafts, retail, food service and some services also conduct preliminary investigations into the requisite professional qualifications of the persons petitioning for such licenses.

All of these inspections make possible the preliminary screening of candidates and minimization or considerable reduction of unfavorable consequences of the operation of enterprises, especially in manufacturing and services as well as

the elimination of cases when licenses are granted to individuals who do not guarantee an honest and professional operation.

Besides the preliminary investigation, current inspections of the operation of this group of economic units are carried out. Current oversight as to the consistency of operations with the license is the responsibility of the local organs of state administration in charge of licensing, whereas partial inspections, for example, of sanitary conditions, environmental protection, fire safety etc., are carried out by respective specialized agencies.

Besides the inspection units mentioned above, current inspections of the non-socialized nonagricultural economy are carried out by the revenue offices, MO /Citizens' Militia/, prosecutors' office, NIK /Superior Chamber of Control/, PMH /State Trade Inspection/, officers of control of publications and public events, offices of measures and weights, and district and regional offices of technical supervision. Along with the control activity of the organs of state administration and specialized units, guilds of craftsmen, associations of private merchants and service establishments and private transportation associations discharge social control over the integrity of activities by their members. These inspections are carried out by the specially nominated social commissions and peer courts.

The existence of many ownership forms in our economy at the present stage of its development as well as the growth of the private sector registered in recent years point to the need to improve the guidelines and conditions for the operation of the nonsocialized nonagricultural sector within the framework of the socialist economy.

As was stressed in the guidelines for the economic reform, "The existence of many ownership forms is a permanent feature of our economy. Thanks to the reform, all sectors will be assured equal conditions for development in the sphere of their activity. This will be reflected in the legal system, in the guidelines for fiscal policy and in the guidelines for the supply of the means of production and sale of products."

These statements, which have also been reflected in legal provisions regulating the legal foundations for the operation of the nonsocialized nonagricultural economy, were intended to create conditions for tapping the potential of all ownership sectors of the national economy for ensuring higher production and service outputs, initiative and enterprise and a better flexibility of economic structures. This required the renunciation of the view that the very existence of the socialist economy meant the exclusivity of the socialist forms of economic activity. Likewise, the thesis on the transitory nature of small-scale market production cannot apply generally and comprehensively. This is shown by the situation in many socialist countries where the private sector is present to a greater or lesser degree in various sectors of the national economy. The permanent nature of this form of economic activity under socialism results from the role it plays in this system. Its operation in the form of private manufacturing, service and retail businesses based primarily on the labor of owners does not run counter to the social interest.

At the same time, it should be stressed that private ownership of the means of production, when it assumes the form of their use by an individual, does not necessarily lead to the emergence of petty capitalist activity and to the transformation of the individual owner of the craftsman's shop into a petty capitalist.

The existence of small-scale private ownership along with social ownership in its state and cooperative forms calls for looking into the mutual links among these ownership sectors. The activity of the private sector in manufacturing and retail is primarily complementary in nature; it often involves various spheres which complement the socialized sectors. This is not the rule, however. In many cases, manufacturing, retail and service activities of the private and socialized sectors are in competition, which counteracts monopoly situations and is favorable as far as the social interest is concerned.

Economic practice provides many examples of benefits to the consumer resulting from the supply of certain goods and services by units operating along different guidelines, which is facilitated by the multisector arrangements in our economy. Along with the competitive relationship, a division of labor is shaped between the socialized enterprises, where production processes often involve capital-intensive manufacturing methods, and small-scale private enterprises, which use more labor-intensive methods. This provides the opportunity for shaping various economically justified forms of cooperation between economic units of both sectors and, therefore, promotes an increase in general economic efficiency.

The thesis on the conformity with the social interest in case the nonsocialized sector coexists with the socialized in many economic activities does not mean that certain contradictions between the general social interest and that of private owners of the means of production do not occur.

The development of the nonsocialized sector entails multifaceted consequences in the economic and sociopolitical spheres as well as in public consciousness. These are both positive and negative. Using the potential of this sector in increasing the production of goods and services sought after by the populace is of paramount importance in the economic sphere. In many economic activities it is impossible to set up medium- and small-scale production. Given the inadequate development of small socialized manufacturing and service enterprises, the craftsmen naturally fill the existing vacuum in supply.

At the same time, an increase in the share of the nonsocialized sector leads on many occasions to the spread of the manifestations of social deviance, interception of raw and other materials from the socialized economy, corruption, theft, etc., and especially so in the environment of profound disequilibrium in the markets of consumer and producer goods. It also causes economic differentiation among private manufacturing, service and retail business. For a segment of these enterprises, this creates the conditions for transformation into typically capitalist enterprises with a developed system of hiring and exploiting labor.

In the sociopolitical sphere, the expansion of the nonsocialized sector brings about a gap between the incomes of the employees in the socialized and

nonsocialized economy as well as a redistribution of incomes among these employees, most often to the detriment of the socialized sector. This redistribution is not justified by the labor input.

It is generally accepted that employees of various sectors of the national economy should be given similar wages for a similar input of labor requiring the same skills. With regard to private producers of goods and services, the level of generated income should ensure for those managing efficiently the funds for reproducing and expanding production capacity as well as the necessary consumption funds.

Uneven development of the nonsocialized sector results in the differentiation of incomes taken in by the owners of individual enterprises. Income differentiation also occurs among employees of the socialized economy; its mechanisms, however, are different. After all, incomes of private producers who own the means of production depend not only on the quantity and quality of labor input but on the quantity and quality of the disposable means of production and the skill (efficiency) of their use.

The progressive system of taxation influences the differentiation of income by decreasing the spread through imposing higher rates on producers who generate higher incomes.

The implementation of fiscal policy in the nonsocialized sector cannot, however, bring about the same degree of equality as is the case with the salaried employees. This follows from the above-mentioned need to ensure that private producers are able to allocate a share of income generated through the sales of goods produced for the accumulation fund. Taking into account the above-mentioned qualifications, the general requirement for the tax system still boils down to the statement that it should prevent an excessive spread of incomes. Certainly, it is not easy to answer the question on which spread should be considered excessive. It can be accepted that the spread is excessive when, as the public opinion has it, it is not justified by respective differentials in the social efficiency of managing the disposable production assets. By the same token, profits not associated with the results of production will be excessive. However, this means reducing the problem to the way in which the income is generated rather than the amount of this income.

Incomes generated in the nonsocialized sector and the issues of regulating these incomes give rise to much controversy and emotion. This is especially true of the periods of intensified inspection activities in this sector, reports on the results of revealed irregularities, including crimes in the sphere of supply, taxation and other transfers to the state budget. The growth of social discontent is also caused by the price level and shoddy workmanship of the goods produced and services offered which often accompanies it.

The phenomena of excessive incomes and excessive profiteering occur especially in periods of intensive uncontrolled price movement, which make it possible to secure considerable benefits unjustified by the input of labor. Therefore, the means to counteract the incidence of such irregularities should be sought not only in the system of taxation but primarily in the undertakings of economic policy aimed at restoring the general economic equilibrium of demand and supply.

It is the task of the concession and financial policy of the state to direct and control the scope and rules of economic activity in the nonsocialized sector and to eliminate all the manifestations of noncompliance by the activity with the social interest. Streamlining the instruments of this policy and adjusting them to the changing economic conditions (often seen as a change in policy toward this sector and the renunciation of its legally guaranteed permanent character) is a continuous process intended to incorporate the nonsocialized sector into the system of socialist economy and to subordinate the individual economic interests of owners of the means of production to the development goals of society.

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POLAND

## MILITARY OFFICER SCHOOL COMMANDERS DISCUSS PROGRAMS

### Armored Troop School

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Nov 84 p3

[Interview with Brig Gen Zdzislaw Gluszczyk, commander of the Stefan Czarniecki Armored Troop Officers School in Poznan, by Capt Wieslaw Rasala; date and place not specified]

[Text] The Stefan Czarniecki WSOWP [Higher Armored Troop Officer School] in Poznan is the oldest school of the Polish People's Army. It is one of those officer schools that was formed during the fall of 1944 in accordance with the general plan to expand the army. The school passed through several stages of development, finally becoming a professional higher armored troop school in 1967. Its graduates to date are devoted and highly qualified armored troop officers. Today, many of them hold important and responsible positions in the armed forces.

[Question] The 40th anniversary makes one reflect on the school's achievements and well-being.

[Answer] In its 40 years of existence, our school trained a dozen or so thousand young officers, armor men and political officers, who are dedicated to socialism and are professionally trained. A specific example of the school's achievements is that six times it was rated as the best school among the army's higher officers schools and in other years was among the top schools. In 1974 the Council of State awarded the school the Order of Standard of Work, Second Class, for its achievements in training and education. In addition, our school won three medals "for exceptional achievements in service to the army," an award "for service to the Silesian Military District," and the National Education Committee Medal. However, we take greatest pride in the Order of Standard of Work, First Class, that was awarded by the Council of State in 1984 and the honor bestowed on the school by the Ministry of Defense for its contributions in training professional and political cadres and in strengthening the defense of the Polish People's Republic.

[Question] No doubt, the organization of the didactic process had a lot to do with the mentioned successes.

[Answer] There can be but one reply: affirmative. To a great extent the successes are a reflection of the methodical operations at the school, department, subject and school subunit levels. The goal of the method is to improve systematically the didactic and training skills of the cadre of lecturers, instructors and subunit leader; to develop the best organizational forms of the education process and the best methods for conducting tasks as well as their standardization. But above all the goal is to disseminate and popularize the best ways to use the training base.

As a result of this methodical activity, the cadets are becoming skilled in independently developing and performing tasks at the subunit level, and they are learning the forms and methods used in training a subunit by using battlefield resources during exercises.

But that is only one side of the coin.

[Question] What is the other side?

[Answer] Above all, the success of the school also depends on the efforts of the PZPR School Committee, the Education Council, and the instructor, command and cadet cadres. It is actually this "live" factor that promotes the successful implementation of tasks designed to improve the school's organizational life. In realizing the tasks, the party-political apparatus, and the instructor, command and cadet cadres continuously seek optimum solutions to all problems.

[Question] And who excels among them?

[Answer] I could name them almost in a single breath. They are, among others, Col Jan Szamatula, Col Piotr Polec, Col Stanislaw Grocholski, Col Andrzej Kubecki, Col Seweryn Dynel, Lt Col Zbigniew Szymczak, Capt Marian Lukaszyk, Second Lt Andrzej Jeziorski, Second Lt Wieslaw Sobolewski, Second Lt Jacek Borowiecki, Cadet Sgt Krzysztof Szyffers and Cadet Platoon Leader Czeslaw Zasilski.

[Question] The education research work is a factor in developing and improving the training process. What is the situation in this regard at the WSOWP?

[Answer] Education research work, primarily work to improve the effectiveness of the training process, was conducted by a research group that included lecturers in several subject cycles. A total of 17 education research themes were realized in 1984 in the realm of improving the didactic-training process, seeking more effective ways of combating tank subunits and improving the training methods in this area, improving the management of WSO's [higher officers schools] and investigating useful military techniques.

Of special interest is the group project on "Subprograms From PERT Instructions To Permit the Programming of Teletransmission Lines in FORTRAN and COBOL." The primary advantage of this project is that it will be

possible to use independently subprograms of a software package providing basic CRT [cathode ray tube] functions. This innovative project is qualified for use at MON [Ministry of National Defense] computer centers equipped with an ODRA 1325 computer and CRT's.

[Question] But what about the problem of improving the instructor and command cadres?

[Answer] Above all, improving the professional qualifications of the instructor and command cadres was prompted by the function that the school must fulfill in the training and education process. As of now, 22 officers have doctorates in various specialties, and 11 officers possess general doctorates. In addition, the cadres are improving their qualifications through postgraduate studies at military and civilian academies.

In the area of improving teaching, the WSOWP is organizing and implementing three pedagogic levels: adaptive training for young academic teacher, postgraduate studies at military and civilian academies and self-training work in the area of continuous training.

In recent years, about 40 percent of the instructor and command cadres were involved in teaching improvement. In 1985, this percentage will increase. Currently, 95 percent of the instructor cadres have level-2 higher academic training. We have seven masters of didactics, and each year at least three to four candidates are under observation.

[Question] And what about contacts with other schools?

[Answer] Driven by the desire to expand and improve cooperation, the exchange of experiences and mutual aid, common goals in the realm of party-political, didactic and education research work are being realized every year on the basis of a developed plan. By participating in education symposia and conferences, our instructor, command and cadet cadres participate in joint education research work, disseminate new or better training methods, and modernize and properly exploit the didactic base.

The cooperation with Poznan's higher civilian schools, that is, Poznan Polytechnic, Adam Mickiewicz University and the Higher School of Music, is proceeding well. Our school also maintains contacts with the Academy of Physical Fitness, the Academy of Medicine, and the Academy of Agriculture.

For us, the help provided by Poznan's schools is not one-sided. In turn, the WSOWP offers extensive help to these schools in military studies. These schools also use our field and classroom facilities, military technical equipment, library, and materials.

Each year military studies officers participate in teaching methods courses organized by our school. Officers having various specialties work with students and the studies cadres not only in military subjects but also in political and professional subjects. Currently, the growing cooperation includes problems of a didactic and education nature as well as sports and entertainment.



[Question] What are you planning for the near future?

[Answer] Making use of the recommendations made by line units and the practices of the cadets that are associated with alternative studies, we will modify our training and education program.

Increasing the number of classrooms for cadet training is a continuing problem for us. We will strive to expand education research work in army training.

Improving the school's infrastructure and living conditions is another important problem.

#### Missile Troops, Artillery School

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 49, 2 Dec 84 pp 5, 14

[Interview with Brig Gen Kazimierz Chudy, commander of the Gen Jozef Bem Higher Missile and Artillery Troops Officers School in Torun, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] General, you display no indication on your uniform of an army branch. However, I know, Citizen General, that you have always been faithful to the artillery.

[Answer] Thirty years ago I began my military career as a cadet at the Warsaw Artillery Brigade, a front unit that served our armed forces well. In the course of three decades I have commanded at various levels. Today, I am no stranger to the technical characteristics, uses and military applications of all types of artillery and missile equipment in our army's armory.

[Question] Were they difficult military line assignments?

[Answer] During those 30 years I spent many months--today, it would be difficult to count them--on practice firing grounds. Often I was either the firing officer or fire controller in the position of command observer. Later, I managed tasks executed by my subordinates.

[Question] Citizen General, how often did you change duty stations?

[Answer] Torun is my sixth garrison, but it is the first one in which street cars operate.

[Question] Does that mean that your previous posts were unattractive?

[Answer] I am a soldier and served where I was ordered to do so. I did not take into consideration the attractiveness of a duty station. But I always asked myself: Who am I succeeding in these new duties, and what is the status in the table of competition of the subunit entrusted to me?

[Question] Were there reasons to be dissatisfied in this area?

[Answer] It depends how one looks at this problem. For the most part, my predecessors were excellent commanders and trainers, and most often they left their occupied position for a higher position with an entry in their personnel record "on his way to a distinguished career." In such a situation, I had to be very careful not to lower goals...

[Question] What were the results?

[Answer] Much can be said on this subject, but I will cite only one example. A dozen or so years ago I commanded an artillery unit that before my arrival was cited by the minister of national defense for "achievements in military service." As a sailor would say, I managed to steer that "ship" in a well laid-out course, and together with my subordinates I was awarded...

[Question] It is easy to guess that it was another medal for "outstanding achievements in military service." That was quite an achievement and was noted in ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in a report entitled "A Third Medal." At that time you were a lieutenant colonel.

[Answer] Of course. That was a good period in my service. I came to that unit well prepared to fulfill the difficult tasks at ever staff position. Good foundations were provided by my earnest studies at the ASG [General Staff Academy] while serving on the artillery faculty. Then my superiors made a very strange personnel decision--at least I thought so at the time,--that is, after completing the academy I was first nominated chief of staff, which was understandable, and then I was made quartermaster.

[Question] Was that an incorrect decision?

[Answer] Shortly thereafter I understood that the quartermaster position was a temporary one, a prelude to the position of unit commander. But I must admit that my quartermaster experience has paid dividends to this day.

[Question] Did this good command period have its limitations?

[Answer] At the beginning of the 1970's, I was ordered to study at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Academy, that is, at the "voroshilka". After I successfully completed the studies, my superiors sent me to a missile unit where I supplemented this theoretical knowledge gained at the Soviet academy with experience with combat rocket launchers inclusively.

[Question] What about your position as WSO commander?

[Answer] I have been a WSO commander for 5 years now, and I cannot imagine that I could hold this responsible position without the extensive staff command experience that I have accumulated to date. I should add that I took over these duties from Brig Gen Stanislaw Zak, which pleased me very much because the situation was very good when I assumed command, just as in my previous positions.

[Question] Citizen General, are you more of a commander than an educator?

[Answer] I am both to an equal degree. In addition, when need be I am a friend, adviser and at times even a father to the cadets and officer cadets. In addition to future line officer, high-class specialists for the needs of the regular artillery and missile forces as well as political officers, we also train and prepare specialists and educators for officer cadets.

[Question] After completing the school, do the cadets have much opportunity for professional advancement?

[Answer] I think very highly of those cadets who decided to study at the school for artillery officer cadets. They come here with a completed vocational diploma and leave with a secondary-school certificate. Our school provides them with a great opportunity, which I am quite convinced they will utilize fully. I know quite well that those cadets who are in their second year are very ambitious and enthusiastic. Therefore, I expect all of them will return here to the WSO in the near of distant future to complete their officer studies.

[Question] Do the officer cadets and cadets consult their commander?

[Answer] I am convinced that during the past 5 years many very important problems were resolved in my office. My students come to me almost daily. I place no barriers in their way, even though I realize that it is very time-consuming. However, I have never regretted this time because it is not wasted.

[Question] Who do you remember most of all?

[Answer] There are many people. However, several years ago there was a young man who after being admitted to the WSO came to me and said he was from Grudziadz and wanted very much to become an officer. I am a very good judge of people, and I know that he was a sincere, open and decisive man.

[Question] What happened?

[Answer] This year he completed the school as one of its top graduates. Today he is in a unit and has two longed-for stars on his shoulders. Recently I had an interesting conversation with a sergeant and his son from a unit in which I was a commander. I thought to myself that if the son is at least half as dependable and dedicated as his father then it would be worthwhile to have him attend the school. The next few months will determine if my decision was a good one.

[Question] Commander, what kind of officer cadets and cadets do you value most highly?

[Answer] I place much emphasis on practical professional preparation so that the students of this school can achieve high marks, especially in directed studies. In addition, and I must emphasize this, the wide-ranging and very energetic youth and party activists give me many reasons to be satisfied.

[Question] We have done and continue to do much in the area of modernizing the school base, but we are far from satisfied. What is more important, our superior, Brig Gen Włodzimierz Kwaczeniuk, the commander of the Rocket and Artillery Forces, understands our needs and provides us with much help. Thanks to this, our schooling conditions will improve markedly. In addition, we would like to improve the social conditions for the cadets. Here I have in mind primarily the problems of heating, overcrowding in the dormitories and the like.

[Question] As we know, the school extends beyond its own walls.

[Answer] Good and tested methods have been developed for working with the young students. To this end, the energetic and active circle of ZHP [Polish Scout Union] instructors is performing very well. The cadets have already accomplished much social action for the city and to improve our school base. Among other things, they completely rebuilt Nowojagiellonski Street. I want to emphasize that our WSO maintains very good relations, and not only ceremonial ones, with party authorities and the city and regional administrations.

[Question] Lately, much is being said about the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] slogan: Help the School.

[Answer] This slogan was also taken up by our youth and party activists. The freewill money offerings collected for this purpose will provide a quarter million zlotys annually. In addition, much work will be done to benefit the school's didactic base, which is under the auspices of the WSO.

[Question] Citizen General, Cadet Day will be celebrated on 29 November. How will this day be marked at the Torun WSO?

[Answer] As in every year, that day will also be observed at the WSOWRiArt. On the eve of the holiday, during a special assembly, I will relinquish command to the school's honorary officer of the day who, in accordance with the military ceremony, will be selected by and from among the cadets themselves. I want my students to enjoy themselves on this day. I also want them to apply themselves earnestly during the rest of the academic year to their studies and to work actively in the party and youth organizations so that with a clear conscience the senior officer cadets could display their first officer stars and that all others would be promoted unhampered to the next class.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

## Military Technical Academy

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 84 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Brig Gen Edward Wlodarczyk, commander of the Jaroslaw Dabrowski Military Technical Academy, by Roman Lercher; date and place not specified]

[Text] The Jaroslaw Dabrowski WAT [Military Technical Academy] was established 33 years ago on 18 December 1951 by an act of the Sejm. During this period, the school transformed itself into a large scientific-didactic combine, inseparately linked with the army and its modernization and improvement, and with the national economy. The school's commander, Brig Gen Edward Wlodarczyk, discusses the school's standing and achievements.

[Question] Over 20 years have elapsed since the first Polish lasers, gas and ruby, were placed into operation by the WAT. Your lasers are used in practical applications. Many devices have been produced that are of use to the army and the national economy. But there is more to WAT than lasers.

[Answer] That is a fact. Since the beginning of the 1970's, when our school identified itself with lasers and analog computers, much has changed. WAT's research program is linked closely with current programs to develop specific scientific disciplines that take into account the current and future needs of the army, the defense industry and the economy. We are expanding basic as well as applied research. Cognitive and application problems are interdependent, and their results intermingle.

[Question] Which of the scientific disciplines linked directly to the national economy has become a WAT calling-card, its specialty?

[Answer] In the 1970's we began work on liquid-crystal substances for all types of indicators, for example, for watches, calculators, and the like. A number of liquid-crystal substances were obtained having very useful parameters. Their technologies are being applied in industry, and at the same time a license has been sold to Japan.

At the end of the 1960's, we initiated intense research in microelectronics. In this area we have contributed to the national economy several original methods for investigating the electrophysical properties of MIS [metal insulator semiconductor] structures and a system for the interoperational control of MOS [metal oxide semiconductor] integrated circuit technology.

In addition, more or less since that time our school has been expanding work systematically on the photoelectric properties of semiconductors and on unusual apparatus to investigate these properties, becoming one of the leading centers in this area. A number of near and far infrared detectors have been developed by WAT. Some of them are exported to the highly industrialized countries. Special vacuum equipment to process and infuse thin films has also been developed.

[Question] Lately, electronic computing technology has become very fashionable because of its important effect on economic development, harnessing computers to production processes. WAT also has something to say in this field.

[Answer] Our general analog computer, ELWAT, was one of the first to be produced industrially. This was followed by hybrid computer designs that are in use at several Polish scientific and industrial centers. We are systematically conducting work on input/output devices for digital computers. In this area we have constructed a four-monitor graphoscope to depict in graphic form data generated by an ODRA-1305 computer.

Using the possibilities created by electronic computing technology, we have solved a number of problems at the WAT on the dynamics of bodies deformed aeroelastically, the dynamics of soil and the dynamics of fortified objects subject to detonations and shock waves.

At the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's, an energetic team arose at the WAT that specialized in applying the method of finite elements to calculate the structural strengths of designs having complex geometric shapes. The developed calculating systems are used by design offices, research and development centers and schools.

The scientific problem concerned with developing the design and engineering application of aircraft equipment is being realized at the WAT. We have made many contributions in this area by developing new calculating methods, including, among others, methods for modeling and the dynamic simulation of discrete and sequential systems. Experimental methods are being developed to optimize design solutions.

[Question] Among the projects conducted at the WAT, the leaders of the four circles can also find something from time to time of interest to themselves.

[Answer] Among these projects, I would especially like to mention those aimed at improving motor vehicle systems and units, such as engines, power transmissions, frames, tires, and so forth. In this area excellent results were achieved in multifuel engines, investigations of fuels and lubricants, determining the optimum periods for changing engine oil, investigations of filtration, analytical and experimental investigations of the dynamics of automobile vibrations, experimental investigations of automobile tires, and the application of parabolic springs to buses. These springs weigh 49 percent less compared to traditional springs while assuring a more comfortable ride.

In recent years, with the framework of the so-called application of electronics technology to automobiles, we developed antiskid systems having the parameter of systems produced by renowned foreign firms.

[Question] Before we proceed to the latest projects, perhaps a few words are in order about basic research, which is somewhat less known to the average citizen but attests to the school's standing.

[Answer] The WAT, for example, is making a significant contribution to the expansion of basic research in mechanics. Some of the accomplishments achieved by WAT's cadres that have been recorded permanently in the world's special literature are: resonance of nonstationary waves in plastic media; problems related to the radiation of stress waves and their effects on objects; the propagation of shock and detonation waves and the effects of these waves on barriers located on land or water; the physics of an explosion; the theory of combined electromagnetothermal fields; new concepts of the theory of quantum mechanics; new concepts of the theory of thermal conductivity; investigations of metal fatigue.

[Question] What about those new discoveries and current projects that are not yet well known?

[Answer] Recently we have been involved with explosion methods to obtain superhard materials. The concern here is about material that is much harder than corundum, metal carbides and similar substances. Above all, they are diamonds and borazole. A diamond is a natural substance, but it also can be obtained by treating graphite. Borazole, however, does not occur in nature. It is obtained from a borazole nitrate. This latter material also is only achieved via synthesis. High pressure methods are used to obtain diamonds and borazole. The requirement for pressure changes can be determined with the help of a charge of explosion material. Diamond and borazole are used mainly to produce drill bits and other tools and to process metals.

[Question] Thus it can be said that it is only necessary to cover a sample with an explosive material, detonate the explosive, and then we will obtain diamond or borazole powder.

[Answer] In reality it is somewhat more difficult. What kind of research problems arise here? There are many, starting with preparing the initial material and preparing the proper composition (the finished material with a refrigerating agent), through the explosive system, in which the shock wave, that is, the pressure source, is generated, and ending with problems related to separating the finished product.

It is an interdisciplinary problem requiring the involvement of chemists, physicists, metallurgists and mechanics. Such a team, which I direct, is working at the academy to develop effective explosion methods to obtain diamond and borazole powders.

[Question] The increased number of inventions most certainly is proof of the standing and value of the projects initiated by the WAT.

[Answer] The school has over 600 Polish and foreign patents, including patents in the most developed countries in the world. Appropriate licensing and application agreements have been concluded to apply these patents in practice. All in all, over 60 percent of the patents and protected processes are being implemented in modern engineering equipment.

In addition to the results that are directly useful to the national economy and defense, the extensive expansion and intensification of scientific research work substantially affects the development of scientific-didactic cadres.

Scientific research and didactic-training activities in a modern school are closely interrelated, influencing and mutually complementing one another.

WAT's tasks are becoming more difficult and complex, but at the same time the extensive skills and ambitions of the cadres guarantee that these tasks will be completed successfully. Under Poland's difficult and complex economic and political conditions, we want to be a model for exemplary and dedicated work and service.

#### Military Political Academy

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 84 p4

[Article by Brig Gen Wladyslaw Polanski, commander of the Military Political Academy: "After the Nationwide Party Council on the Social Sciences; Military Social Sciences in Service to the Building and Strengthening of Socialism"]

[Text] The Nationwide Party Council on the Social Sciences was a significant event in the country's scientific life. It was another important Central Committee task to fulfill the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress on the party's scientific policy and to realize the tasks that have to be fulfilled by Marxist-Leninist social sciences in the current phase of building socialism in our country.

The preparations for the council by party scientific communities; the program paper announced by Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary; the self-evaluation of the party groups representing the various social sciences and humanities communities that were included in Comrade Jan Baszkiewicz's paper; and the very lively, comprehensive discussions during the plenary and problem sessions enabled a basic evaluation of the present status of the social sciences to be made, an analysis of their achievements and weaknesses, and an outline of tasks that must be performed to consolidate the scientific communities in the face of new, increasingly more difficult problems.

The council participants were of one mind that the dominance of Marxism-Leninism in theory, in the interpretation of social phenomena, in the directions of research work, and in methodology is a necessary condition for the social sciences to improve their role in the process of building socialism. To achieve this goal, it is necessary that much exertion and many efforts must be made primarily relative to these communities and their designated representatives. Thus it is necessary to identify ideologically with Marxism-Leninism; integrate the Marxist communities in the social sciences; increase their aggressiveness in tackling the basic problems of



our social reality; increase their effectiveness in education; and increase their influence on social practices and in shaping social consciousness. It is obvious that fulfilling these postulates cannot be a one-time action, nor can they be decreed. It is a long-term process, initiating a flow of thoughts and ideas from theory to practice and from practice to theory to enrich theory.

Working groups were formed on: science policy and primary research directions; the social sciences in the national education system; the social sciences and social practices under conditions of reform of the state and the national economy; and the political-cadre situation in the social sciences community. During the plenary and working group discussions, pluralism in ideology was denounced and criticized severely. It was emphasized that the policy of dialogue and conciliation is a political category that must not be transposed mechanically to ideology. An uncompromising struggle is taking place in ideology, and to a great extent its outcome will depend on the aggressiveness of the Marxist communities, their implacability regarding ideologically foreign theories and views, and their objectivity and courage. What is needed above all is patience and persistent efforts to win over advocates to our ideology, to convince people on the basis of arguments and a class interpretation of events and phenomena.

A large group of representatives of the military social sciences participated actively in the council. They were actively present during the preparation of the council and during the council itself. How do the social sciences that are practiced in the armed forces appear with regard to the social sciences in Poland? We should start with the statement that the military social sciences are an integral part of Poland's social sciences. They were historically shaped, responding to our army's cognitive and practical needs; they were and are based on the theoretical and methodological foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The military social sciences are based on general science and its development by Poland's scientific institutions. Today the military social sciences are attempting to repay this debt with interest. Progress and development of the sciences as practiced under military conditions, as with the social sciences in general, are not achieved without difficulty and do not traverse down beaten paths. However, it should be emphasized that even in this most difficult sociopolitical crisis in People's Poland the social sciences in the army not only did not collapse but became even stronger in their way, which must be acknowledged as a triumph for the military scientific community. Not one of its representatives turned in his party card; no one deviated from Marxism-Leninism despite various attempts made by outside opposition forces. It is all the more worthy of emphasis in that, as it was formulated in the program paper and in the discussions in the problem sections, many of the party's Marxist members succumbed to the influences of those communities and were led astray or simply abandoned the party and socialism.

The goals of military indoctrination and training are inseparable from the tasks that the armed forces must fulfill in a socialist state. As is known, in addition to strictly military ones, these tasks include general social

tasks, especially ideological-indoctrinational and civic tasks. We believe it is our party and military duty to prepare young men performing military service for those tasks and situations that arise under the complex conditions of building socialism in our country. Thus, we are especially concerned about those indoctrination problems whose solutions will make it easier to overcome the sociopolitical crisis and its consequences in the social consciousness, especially in the attitudes and behavior or a part of the young generation of Poles.

We are concentrating our indoctrination and training efforts primarily on three groups of problems. Thus, our aims are first, to prepare a leadership and party-political cadre to analyze and evaluate political and social phenomena properly, especially a class analysis of the process of building socialism in Poland and its domestic and international justifications. This will be done by popularizing Marxist-Leninist knowledge and its interpretation in our party's program documents. Second, to prepare via sociopolitical education officers to implement ideological-upbringing tasks, especially in their work with military youth to shape their political, moral attitudes and outlook on life, and in their work to explain the party's social and economic policies and its program for socialist renewal that was designated by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. Third, to show the military cadres how the essence of the modern class struggle is being manifested, what are its main political and military, ideological and economic signs, and what the party member and every Pole must do in this struggle.

We are realizing these tasks in the training processes as well as in our research. The social sciences problems, including such disciplines as Marxist-Leninist philosophy, sociology, pedagogy, methodology, psychology, economics, and the history sciences, are reflected extensively in the WSO and military academy programs, especially in the Military Political Academy's [WAP] educational research programs. Our school, which is the theoretical facility for party-political and training work in the armed forces, especially in the social disciplines and humanities, is assuming didactic and research tasks that are closely related to current and projected problems related to the political and ideological struggle. The problems of a socialist state, its class essence and its internal and external functions are examples of such problems. They also include defense, indoctrination and organizational problems. We recognize that one of the complex problems in our education-didactic and ideological-indoctrination work is the problem related to the state and socialist democracy, its political interpretation and its practical comprehension. Closely related to this problem is the matter of propagating and expanding political and moral culture and a legitimate society, disseminating its contents to wide segments of the society, to the consciousness of various communities, especially to young people.

Marxist philosophy and its closely related disciplines, for example, political economy and the theory of scientific socialism, occupy an important position in military sociopolitical education programs. In our programs, philosophy fulfills at least four functions, namely, 1) cultural and ideological, 2) axiological, especially moral, 3) world view attitudes, and 4) methodological.

The cultural function is expressed by the didactic realization of the philosophy program in which we provide students with knowledge about the history of philosophical thought, including the struggle between its materialistic and idealistic trends. We place special emphasis on problems of the ideological struggle in modern philosophy and on the role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in this struggle as the party's theoretical weapon in the struggle with bourgeois ideology and various shades of revisionism.

The axiological function consists of analyzing, interpreting and propagating the socialist value system in collective and individual life. We extract with complete consistency the worldview essence of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, striving to form a foundation of materialism. This program is producing positive results, especially at the higher officers schools, but one can also observe a significant dissemination of secular attitudes among noncommissioned officers and enlisted men. However, they are problems that are socially and culturally very complex, and we do not expect radical changes to occur in this area.

In programs concerned about shaping world views, we want our pupils to be propagators of secular culture so that in their indoctrination work with soldiers they would represent in an active way our party's ideological and worldview positions. Thus, we attach much importance to pedagogic training. The concern here is that the officer, a military school graduate, have the proper store of knowledge so that he could be more effective as an indoctrinator. Therefore, pedagogical problems concerning the theory and history of indoctrination, didactic processes and their proper implementation in training practices occupy a very important position in WAP's didactic-education programs.

Problems concerning a political officer's personality and the methods and conditions for shaping this personality occupy an important place among research themes in military pedagogy. We base this on the assumption that the armed forces' difficult training, organizational and ideological-indoctrination tasks can be comprehended and effectively realized only by an officer possessing fundamental social and Marxist-Leninist knowledge, military and political culture, and who would also be very articulate. Thus, special care must be taken that this officer should be a highly qualified professional man, pedagogically and sociopolitically.

We are placing much emphasis on the possibility of our cooperating in the fields of research and training education cadres with many university centers and scientific institutions in Poland, and with the PZPR Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. We are convinced that many problems exist in which our school can coordinate research and training efforts, exchanging education-didactic experiences. We have been cooperating profitably for many years with the Lenin Military Political Academy in Moscow and the K. Gottwald Academy in Bratislava. This cooperation is of a comprehensive nature. We strive to maintain educational and didactic

contacts between departments having similar disciplines, to exchange scientific literature, textbooks and work results. We also initiate joint team projects on important military and political themes. We participate in jointly organized conferences, we volunteer for guest lectures from which we profit, presenting our own didactic and educational achievements to improve our school's educational and didactic processes.

We place much emphasis on the problem of Marxist-Leninist methodology, its philosophical assumptions and its practical instruction in the training programs and educational research conducted in our schools. We want the assumed research theme and its method of realization to fulfill the requirements of modern methodology of scientific research, and its Marxist-Leninist interpretations. One of the important postulates of this methodology is attentiveness to the precision of scientific concepts, their proper explications and applications in, for example, articulating a research problem.

We are also paying attention to the methodological culture of research manifesting itself in methods of formulating and justifying research hypotheses and their empirical testability. Obviously, only then will our sociopolitical knowledge be cognitively credible because the proper methodological rigors will be observed in achieving them. This is a necessary condition for the social sciences, and their assertions and hypotheses to be effective in diagnosing social processes and projecting their future courses. However, a specific characteristic of the social sciences is that they are applied in practice through social consciousness, and thus scientific proof alone will not suffice here. To recognize its social functionality, a given thesis must be accepted in the social consciousness and transformed into practice via people's behavior.

Applying social sciences research results in practice is a very serious problem. That which represents a substantial barrier in implementing the contents of the social sciences into the training and indoctrination practices of some academic communities having a Marxist-Leninist orientation can be called a psychological barrier. This is expressed by the fact that in the consciousness of some academic youth and teacher a stereotype has been created of mistrust toward Marxism, to its axiology and methodological assumptions. This stereotype can function because our educational practices are conducted from a position of socialism. Here I am thinking about the many civilian education centers that are not sufficiently aggressive or discerning or cognitively attractive.

The struggle against this phenomenon must be waged decisively and simultaneously on several fronts: political, ideological and scientific. The ideological front clearly bares the fundamental goals of the counterrevolution, its assumptions that are absolutely antinationalistic, socially reactionary and politically catastrophic. The political struggle consists of propagating our party's positions on basic social, economic and cultural issues, and in this regard shows the class essence of the positions of the political opposition and its destabilizing activities. The

scientific front consists of a decisive offensive, especially of the social sciences developed on the methodological assumptions of Marxism-Leninism, cognitively authenticated, that is, directed at problems of great political significance.

The domination of Marxism and achieving this domination in the social sciences consists of a complex group of problems concerning the necessary conditions and methods for achieving this dominance. Among other things, it is a question of the dominance of Marxism in theory, in interpreting social phenomena and in the direction of research work and its methodology. But it is also a question of dominating the essence of rationalistic and humanistic values in the indoctrination process. This is especially so because thus far either the indoctrination functions of the schools and education are forgotten in general or the socialist character of indoctrination and the duties of a citizen with regard to People's Poland are not mentioned in the statutes of education institutions or promoted in many central "indoctrination programs."

At the same time, the modern school, the higher school in a socialist country, should fulfill in earnest three equally important functions: indoctrination, education, and educational research. Today this must be emphasized, and for Marxism to dominate education the higher schools must also be imbued with such a character. Therefore, among other things, self-government of the social sciences communities and schools must be closely linked with the personal responsibility of school authorities. These are not mutually exclusive values; they affect one another and are interdependent.

The military social sciences are directed in research and didactic programs toward important contemporary problems on the theory and practice of building socialism, on issues concerning the contemporary class struggle, its political and ideological forms, with special consideration for the manifestations of this struggle under our Polish conditions. We are striving consistently to adapt the results of the social disciplines practiced in the military schools and research institutions to popularizing Marxist-Leninist ideology in the military and nonmilitary communities as well, and to imbue the social consciousness with our party's program assumptions, its policy of renewal and reform, and its policy to strengthen socialism in our country.

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POLAND

# OFFICERS DISCUSS RECENT CHANGES IN AIR FORCE TRAINING

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish  
No 12, Dec 84 pp 23-27

[Interview with Brig Gen J. Tenerowicz and Lt Col S. Gasecki by Col Kazimierz Stec: "To Accelerate and Implement the Changes in Air Force Training"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Last year, in November's issue of PRZEGLAD, the commander of the Air Force, Div Gen Tytus Krawczyk, announced many organizational and training innovations for 1984. Returning to this subject after 1 year, as was the wish of the commander, the editors of PRZEGLAD interviewed two officers from different air force units: Brig Gen Jozef Tenerowicz and Lt Col Stefan Gasecki. The two officers were asked in the interview to comment on the Air Force commander's plans, which were implemented last year, and to express their own opinions on the issue.

[Question] Comrades, in your opinion what has been the success of the implementation of the announced innovations?

[Gen Tenerowicz] Here we are referring to last year's announcement in which the Air Force commander informed the public of the introduction of many very substantial changes for the Air Force. It is impossible to comment on all of them in an intelligent manner. I would like, however, to say a few things about what has been done in pilot training. As far as I see it, we have succeeded in the implementation of approximately 70 percent of the commander's plans. Total implementation of everything was not possible. After all, we are still bound by the old regulations covering standards; numerous requirements, not covered by our schedules, continue to pour in on the units. For this reason, we are unable to stick systematically with any plan which totally complies with regulations, despite our sincere desire to do so. The organization of our workload, however, has improved significantly.

The objectives of regimental commanders are published monthly and the implementation of these objectives is supervised and directed by the leadership of the tactical union. The following results are scored:

--an improvement in workload organization:

--a presentation of the principal objectives of our operations in a given month through the accurate realization of the problems which might arise from key subjects;

--the better preparation of unit crews through their knowledge beforehand of the tasks facing them.

[Lt Col Gasecki] We were primarily concerned with planning. Planning is conducted as soon as instructions are received.

Already in October of last year, we set for the regiment certain days of the week for flying. This experiment is still ongoing. In my opinion, the experiment has been a success. However, in order to deal best with the basics of this plan, we have to analyze accurately the training results 2 weeks before the end of the previous month and observe the plan for the second half of the month as best as possible so that we can proceed into the next month in an organized manner. We have to collect our information systematically, analyze it (what needs to be done, what has been done, what is "on hold," and what is ahead), set an objective and then a training plan for the following month. The plan has to be made carefully because experience teaches that the result is only as good as the plan itself. Planning has to be from the ground up and it also has to be corrected in the same manner because events change it. Weather conditions do not always correspond to our needs, new orders and instructions arrive; additionally, various personal events can influence what goes on in an Air Force regiment. As a result, we change a monthly plan once a week (every Tuesday) for the following week. Once set, the plan is generally not changed any further. Thanks to this, everyone, both the cadre and basic service soldiers, knows what to expect in the regiment 1, 2, or 3 days in advance. People can better prepare themselves for classroom work, methodical training or combat readiness, let alone flight preparations.

This plan encompasses the requirements arising from all our superiors' recommendations which have to be implemented in a given month, e.g., equipment days, readiness and combined-arms training, noncommissioned officers days, political training, etc. These requirements are burdensome to a great extent if we also wish to implement a flight training program simultaneously.

In trying to maintain a week's fixed flying days, even when the weather plays games, it is often necessary to keep a restrained attitude, inasmuch as "flying" weather for given flights can occur exclusively on "nonflying" days, i.e., on those days when no flights had been scheduled. It may then appear that the flight training program is "going to pieces" because flights may be conducted when the weather is best suited. One could conclude that such a day is "lost" from a training perspective. In reality, the day is not lost because a reserve variant is always scheduled for a flying day. If the decision to change the variant is made relatively early, then 4 to 5 hours of training can be saved instead of only 3 hours as before.

We believe that what we are doing is really necessary. I perceive that the regiment's leaders have already adapted themselves to the new planning



principles, and to the implementation and analysis of training results. I believe that they now perform well with this system. That this is substantial is proven by the fact that the plan for flying and classroom training for the current year has been implemented. To put it briefly, we accept completely the experiment on fixed flying days in the week. We believe that this is a good concept, inasmuch as we know what we are doing during the week; there are not going to be as many changes, postponements and cancellations as before.

[Gen Tenerowicz] As far as I am concerned, the experiment's success is not so obvious. Once when I was an Air Force unit commander, I tried similar plans. This system passed the test inasmuch as the number of emergency requirements not planned for beforehand and having an impact on the unit was considerably less. Additionally, the unit was based in a region where there were fewer flights. From what I now see, I believe that units based in regions where a relatively busy network of active airports is located, especially in the vicinity of the ranges of the ground forces, will be unable to work with fixed flying days during the week. In wanting to meet all the requirements of flight training and to ensure the exercises conducted frequently and with great speed and effort within the framework of cooperation with the ground forces, I do not see the possibility of implementing properly normal flight training exclusively on specific, fixed days of the week. Where air traffic is heavy, this system should be adopted, but in a limited manner, e.g., for the first 2, maybe 3 weeks in a month; the fourth week, however, should be for pilots who are lagging behind during the "inflexible" plan. Such lagging behind will occur and must occur. If for no other reason, it will occur because of the regulations requiring the upgrading of skills in the particular areas of combat employment and pilot training programs. After all, not every pilot can fly during a single day, or even a week; factors like low cloud ceilings can have an impact.

There is still another issue. A schedule of flight alterations sent by the Home Air Defense people, or the schedule for air range time do not always correspond to the fixed flying or even alternate flying days in a week. In order for this system to work correctly, it must be centrally and in detail coordinated. It is necessary to reconcile fairly the interests of the Air Force, Home Air Defense Forces and the Ground Forces by considering the changeable, unpredictable weather.

[Question] Changes were also announced in many other areas of pilot training.

[Lt Col Gasecki] We were also interested in the Air Force commander's view of the problem of the air regiment's cooperation with other military units, particularly the ground forces. We conduct training in aerial reconnaissance over unknown terrain while we are at the bases of these forces; this is exactly what the commander said we would do. Many benefits are acquired because of this, even though, on the other hand, it "makes life difficult" for the organizers of this cooperation and the commanders at various levels.

[Question] Can we conclude that this undertaking has met with approval in the regiment?



[Lt Col Gasecki] Yes it has, especially with our more experienced pilots. For them it has made overall training far more attractive. Of course, there are those who would prefer to fly according to the previous rules because it was easier and meant less planning and coordination of all kinds; and even the results of aerial reconnaissance were positive. One would have had to have exceptionally bad luck not to fly over the fixed site. As we know, the detection and location of forces hidden in a forest (with the desired accuracy), or even on the march is a genuinely difficult task. Experience, however, shows that one can learn to overcome the difficulties involved in the organizing of such training. I believe that if there is a will, there are no impossibilities. Everything can be done, if we are talking about training issues.

[Gen Tenerowicz] We then grappled with the problem of simplifying flight preparations. We are in the process of conducting an experiment. What are the results? It seems that they are favorable. It makes particularly good sense to employ such a system in a unit where first class pilots predominate. A bit of time can then be saved and utilized for a different purpose, even though the need often exists, unfortunately, for a return to the old methods from the perspective of the number of tactical, training, and flying requirements. This system, which is for flying personnel, i.e., those who are well-trained and conscientious, is certainly better than repetitious training, inasmuch as it provides for pilots to be responsible to the greatest extent possible for their own training in accomplishing their air missions.

[Question] Can a reduction in the number of various tasks organized by primary command levels be observed in the units?

[Gen Tenerowicz] No. The pressure is the same, maybe even greater. However, there is a lot less supervision; tasks are better organized and, what is more important, they permit the accomplishment of other projects planned beforehand while they last. Less often, things happen where one control group leaves and another arrives. Unfortunately, these things continue to happen.

[Lt Col Gasecki] I will answer this question in the affirmative. I distinctly feel that there has been a reduction in taskings. Our parent unit directs us much less and we ourselves have to decide what we have to do and this without outside inspiration. In other words, we are forced to think, plan, train, and accomplish a given mission independently. A classic example could be flights from sections of airfield roads. Once we did this on the instructions or orders of our superiors, now we do it on our own. I totally support the opinion that the number of controls has been considerably reduced: approximately, perhaps, by 50 percent. Thanks to this, people work more quietly and with more organization.

[Question] As a result, you all have more time in the regiment for yourselves. How do you take advantage of this extra time?

[Lt Col Gasecki] The regiment's cadre utilizes this time primarily for the comprehensive planning and thorough organization of operations; there is less improvisation and better personal preparation for the training of subordinates. You now no longer run into the instructor who pulls out a moth-eaten conspectus

and conducts ad hoc lessons, i.e., reads off obsolete material. The conspectus is now current because people have the time for improving them. Generally speaking, I can say that thanks to all of this, we are enhancing the quality of our work, i.e., we are improving training.

[Question] Last year, a relaxation of the rules and regulations was announced. What kind of repercussions has this relaxation had?

[Gen Tenerowicz] In my opinion, every rule made by a specific command level can be changed only and exclusively by the level which made it in the first place or by the next-higher command level. A certain danger exists here because the announced innovations have not yet been implemented, although people have already ceased to comply with certain old rules. This is a dangerous situation. The earliest settlement of this issue by a higher staff is necessary if units are to be expected to accomplish properly their missions on the basis of identical documents. I will also add that the word "relaxation" has a negative connotation. I would not use this word in relation to Air Force Regulations. The commander of the Air Force, I believe, had such a change of certain regulations in mind so that various missions might be more flexibly accomplished and the initiative and ideas of individual commanders with regard to the accomplishment of training objectives more extensively employed as well. But this has to be formally sanctioned as soon as possible. The new Air Force Regulations draft was only recently introduced in the units; it considers practically all the suggestions of the commander of the Air Force. We will just have to be patient while we wait for the introduction of a new Air Force code, but until then, let us comply with those documents which formally still bind us.

There are some very restless people who maintain that it is not necessary to have to wait for the publication of new Air Force Regulations. It is possible, after all, to organize and conduct flight training on the basis of general guidelines. My view is different with regard to this issue because I know that flight planning is a great responsibility to have and that it is too risky to play around with on the basis of general guidelines. During a war or its imminent outbreak, yes, but I do not believe that we have to exercise such extraordinary rights in peacetime.

[Lt Col Gasecki] Gen Tenerowicz' arguments cannot be refuted. On the other hand, however, progress needs experimentation. The problem required us to find the right ways and methods for this experimentation so that it does not conflict with the law.

[Question] From what you have said we see that the correctness of the changes announced in PRZEGLAD last year by the commander of the Air Force was obvious. The question arises: Do conditions exist for the realization of these plans in the quickest possible time?

[Lt Col Gasecki] I believe that these plans are purposeful and correct and their implementation necessary, inasmuch as they mean progress for our operations in the organizational sense. I believe that they can be introduced, but a little time is required for this. Certain elements need some time; we

have to acquire greater experience and self-confidence, particularly in the area of cooperation between air regiments and the command staffs of the other services.

[Gen Tenerowicz] The plans of the commander of the Air Force, and I emphasize plans, correspond completely to my own feelings. If there is anything in what I said, ... then it is the result of my conviction that events largely correct our desires and intentions, and that it is not always possible to realize them. My center is making a great effort to implement as best as possible what the commander of the Air Force has announced. However, old habits and the objective factors I have mentioned have led us to be not totally satisfied with the results achieved. I believe, however, that we will introduce these innovations in full eventually.

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POLAND

# CONSENSUS GROWING AMONG 'SILENT MAJORITY'

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Dec 84 p 3

/Article by Arthur Bodnar: "Silent Majority"/

/Text/ The millions of our countrymen who are absorbed in their daily duties rarely give public utterance to their interest in politics. Now and then one refers to them as the "silent majority." The number of people actively participating in some way in political life on an everyday basis probably does not exceed 15 to 20 percent of the adult population. This participation results from their discharged professional or social role, or also from their interests and temperament.

Generally the views and support of the silent majority are solicited. Politicians link their hopes with this majority and their concerns, disdain, as well as their admiration. In this collective, one looks for support for a projected decision as well as for effective resistance to it on the part of the opposition. It is said of the silent majority that it is the most durable tissue of the people as well as the hinterland supporting the sociopolitical system. Is it politically homogeneous? By no means, and so little so that usually it views differently the proportions of many issues about which it is worth agitating directly and energetically. Devotees of violent change usually are full of disillusionment when that majority turns its back on them, especially if until recently it listened to these or those ideas about that change.

In turbulent times the silent majority makes its presence felt in mass meetings, in marches and strikes, and in the demonstration of various symbols. In more peaceful periods of relative stabilization, the interests of various circles of the majority in question are expressed in general by small organized groups which assert that they are articulating those interests faithfully. One needs elections, public consultations, an analysis of public opinion as well as of spectacular events in order for the real state of the collective opinion and mood to be revealed. The orientation and stance of the silent majority which manifest themselves in everyday life in general can only be interpreted indirectly. Generalizations in these matters, if rash, are the wishful thinking of politicians. They also are consciously falsified so as to serve as a support for some doctrinal thesis or political claim.

Professor M. Gulczynski recently has offered an evaluation, on the pages of the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA (No 288/84), of the state of collective consciousness. He states that "the achievement of a collective consensus continues to be remote, whereas the number of those dissatisfied with the current situation is as large as in the past." He also states that everything which has been done hitherto constitutes as yet only "the initial phase of a proper unification." Perhaps I am wrong, but to me these judgments stem from the arsenal of the moral-political unity of the nation, and also from Professor M. Gulczynski's conviction that after the crisis in our country is overcome everyone will be satisfied with the present situation, will think alike and thereby the phase of proper unification will be realized.

The silent majority knows how to reconcile various ideas and matters in a way that is inconceivable to doctrinarians of various orientations. Yet it is pragmatic. For example, it associates the foundations of Catholicism and Marxism, creating in its consciousness something like a philosophy of plebian socialism.

The silent majority, when it speaks out, and it has already called our politicians to order several times, lends a national and concretely historical dimension to various universal features and principles of socialism. In fact, only the Ninth Congress of the PZPR has fully taken this fact into account in its programmatic documents, whereas General W. Jaruzelski's party has taken upon itself the achievement of those recommendations and the longings of the majority. Dispute over the form of socialism in Poland is thus not only an argument over terminology. The silent majority continues to corroborate the known truth that "history breathes slowly," as President U. Kekkonen explained in Moscow in the mid-1950's when there was expressed a concern with the attitude of the Finnish party rightists.

Three years ago we lived through the imposition of martial law in order to make an end to the imminent dictatorship of the political extreme. At that time there was the fear of a significantly more widespread social protest than did take place on the part of the masses bewitched by democratic platitudes which extended far beyond the basic battle with the deformation of the mechanisms of power in the country. A false ideal of democracy, wrote W. Lippmann in the 1920's, can lead only to disillusionment and to the introduction of tyranny; of course, we are speaking of an ideal of democracy, separated from sociohistorical concreteness. People from the ranks of the antigovernment opposition will say that it is precisely martial law that is a manifestation of that tyranny, but the masses expressed a different view. The masses do not perceive the imminent contradiction between the concept of homeland and the real Poland as it appears in the mentioned opposition. The masses are conservative in their own way but at the same time not only tolerate political diversity on its own fringes, but frankly demand it if that diversity, the abrasive dash of views between the opposition and the authorities, does not lead to drastic actions and battles which

fragment national unity, to the disintegration of law and other essential social norms which regulate everyday life. And so the masses support the country and are eager to have the decisionmaking processes followed in the structures of this country be based on authentic democratic regulations which permit that which I call the programmatic opposition within the boundaries of the real Poland.

We are acquiring our first widespread experience in consulting opinions and examining the mood of the silent majority in the society. These opinions are full of demands that life be better and just. These opinions indicate the need for order and clear economic and social regulations. Yet disorder and organizational disarray is noticeable above all with one's place of work and in everyday life. The silent majority in its public feeling often defends, however, the customs which undermine discipline in production and work, customs formed after 1980. So opinions are one thing and real public feeling another. How can that gap be eliminated? We have economic and social reforms, new systems of material incentives, an appeal for moral regeneration, etc., and at the same time real progress in the behavior of workers and citizens is coming about slowly. Clearly a part of the administration's behavior as well as that emanating from the center is incoherent and summary. Also in part the characteristic excess of the changes which accompanies every profound reform comes up against the psychosocial obstacles and collective behavior are dictated by reforms "sinking" slowly into the consciousness of the silent majority. That is a social law.

I believe that there is a satisfactory public consensus regarding major directions of action and the means of realizing them undertaken by the party in power. A consensus does not exclude dissatisfaction or public protests in individual cases, provided that dissatisfaction does not accumulate. On the other hand, a half-open problem remains the political state of the intellects mentioned at the beginning of the article: the 15 percent of adults engaged in politics on the run. We are learning to create independent channels for expressing changing social needs and interests, for legalism in political battle, for serving the higher interests and parties while simultaneously preserving the continuity of the socialist development of the country. Our mechanisms for controlling social processes, and especially the doctrinal ideas legitimizing them, have not overcome the negative tendency to level out or frankly combat all diversity in the environment to which the controlled incentives are heading. The situation is such not only in the economy. So what is needed across the board is a socialist concept of counterbalancing forces, or, to put it more precisely, ideas that would counter-balance the leveling efforts mentioned. The decline of diversity in the environment of the controlling center is in our circumstances a political sickness leading to what we conventionally call absolute power.

The state of ideas of that part of our society which is politically active on an everyday basis, mutual understanding and compromise in affairs vital to the overwhelming majority of this politically active

segment of our society--these are matters which have a key significance for the conditions of the whole of the nation and its dynamics. The year 1984 was, in my estimation, a crucial year in overcoming a feeling of apathy and impotence among the active group in question. This was a feeling of apathy and impotence which had grown out of the disillusionments caused by the political defeat of the 1970's as well as the confusion and impracticability of the battles waged after August 1980. In the current year a constructive orientation has started to dominate which should be given an appropriate push. Is this an easy task? Assuredly not. Whether it will prove successful remains to be seen.

12584

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POLAND  
ROOTS OF WLOSZCZOWA CONFLICT TRACED TO MILITANT PRIESTS

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 85 p 7

[Article by Bronislaw Tumilowicz: "An Attempt on Polish Schools"]

[Text] "If we could separate, isolate, those who do not belong, specifically both the priests from the young people," said Director Julian Lis from Wloszczowa, "the conflict would be ended in a day. Tomorrow already, after bringing the school to order, after disinfectant measures, etc., we could begin to operate."

"But how can that be done?" asked one of the journalists.

"We must work on this..."

This is what the director of the complex of trade schools in Wloszczowa said on 8 December, that is, at the end of the first week that the school building was occupied. In the second week of the strike, the situation had changed little, only to the extent that students of the graduating classes began, at a 60 percent level, to attend lessons in the palace of culture. But the facilities of the basic agriculture school, the lyceum and the agricultural technical school were continuously occupied by the two priests, who, with the help of advisors, led 150 youths, mainly girls. Attempts at a peaceful settlement of the conflict, undertaken by the school administration, the parents' committee, educational and provincial authorities were of no avail. The parents' committee earlier proposed a compromise in order to end the strike, but the organizers of the strike said, "No!" Therefore, the suspicion arose that the cross was not the problem here. The vice governor of Kielce came to Wloszczowa almost every day, discussions were held with the parish school administration in which the two priests occupying the school were employed. The governor met with the diocesan authorities, but the conflict, which no one really wanted, continued. It was not in the interests of the young people since the greater majority of the students of the trade school complex (almost 80 percent) remained at home and did not join in the disturbance. Parents did not want the strike, some were ready to remove their children by force if necessary from the custody of Father Mark. It is clear too that the teachers were also interested in a rapid settlement of the source of conflict; for them the disturbance, lasting 2 weeks, became a nightmare, and traces of psychological terror will be reflected in their work long after emotions have subsided and the strike has ended. Only on Sunday,



16 December, after a discussion with the bishop, did the strikers leave the school and return to their homes.

#### Anatomy of Blackmail

Let us return, however, to the first days of the conflict in order to consider its mechanisms. On Saturday, 8 December, the director of the school called a meeting of parents of students in the graduating classes. Of 43 parents, 27 attended. The meeting took place in the municipal administration building. Journalists, who were visiting Wloszczowa in especially large numbers that day, were not admitted to the meeting, but they were able to hear the distraught voices of parents and the calm, but tense and tired argumentation of Director Lis. After a discussion that lasted several hours, interrupted from time to time by the cries of one of the mothers: "But why such a hurry? We are not authorized to make such a decision!", the following was established: for students of the two graduating classes, who would have to take final examinations after only a limited number of classes, lessons would begin on Tuesday in the palace of culture. No sanctions would be taken against those who did not return to classes on the appointed day since it was not the youth that caused this conflict; furthermore, in specific cases, failure to appear may simply be due to lack of information: the students of the trade school complex in Wloszczowa live in several provinces, not just in Kielce Province, but also in Czestochowa and Piotrkowski Provinces. Third, the parents have undertaken to carry on mediation and to calm their children.

Mediation, however, was to pertain only to lessons, and not to the matter of crosses in classrooms. It was also mutually agreed that the key to resolving the conflict is to remove people who did not belong there from the building since it is precisely these people who settle their differences at the expense of the children. The sentence: "This is all at the expense of our children!" was spoken by one of the ladies after the meeting to the assembled journalists of the national press.

The organizers of the strike, in a perfidious and very "expert", manner exploited press publications and radio reports to inflame hysteria and incite the young people locked in the school. Small imprecisions in information or even a critical or resolute commentary were received by those in the school immediately and evaluated as a lie, a type of verbal aggression aimed at the students. How much further this indoctrination was pushed was evidenced by the fact that a short report about the events in Wloszczowa, broadcast by the local Polish Radio, was taped and the tape was played repeatedly. If one thinks more closely about this affair, the mechanism of producing this "conflict about the cross" becomes clear. Elements of blackmail could have been detected also at other stages of organizing the strike. If completely different, undesirable strangers had found their way into the school in Wloszczowa, there would be no great problem in removing them from the building. Since, however, they were nonsecular individuals in cassocks, the strongest form of force that the director could use was a written request that they leave the school. The matter of "separating" the strike organizers from the youth then grew to the rank of being the main "strategic" problem.

It is significant that the same people, taking advantage of special protection in a time of conflict, allowed the use of blackmail and terror against others. The moment of hanging the crosses in 17 classrooms of the Wloszczowa school at the beginning of December was a reminder of the historical pictures of the persecution of the first Christians, but a rebours. Teachers opening classes were asked to leave or removed by force. But teachers with different convictions with respect to a world view were treated in an even more drastic way: they were given the crosses and told to hang them. These scenes were witnessed by people who were neither students nor parents nor teachers of this school. A telling fact!

### The Priest, an Idol!

The leading figure in the strike and occupation of the school was the local chaplain, a young priest, Marek Labuda. Looking at him, one might, without risking error, say that he has excellent potential for being a leader of a youth group. He is tall, slender, handsome, with a luxuriant Afro. He sings, plays a guitar and in general, knows what he wants. It was precisely his personality that affected the decision of a large group of students about remaining in the school and occupying the building. When one saw the excited, bemused girls (one might rather say, little girls, although each of them must have been at least 16), eyes full of trust looking at the chaplain, and the immediate fulfillment of all his requests, one might think that they had fallen in love with their "leader." Also, the fact he held under his influence and control a large group of very young girls supported a feeling of his own worth in the young, intelligent man.

Father Marek presented himself as a man of decision, sure of himself, strong in the support given him by a group of young people and, as he himself said before television cameras, the support of local church authorities. The statements of the chaplain must, however, be treated with great reserve; they reflected the "needs of the moment" rather than objective truth.

During the whole period of the strike, moreover, the opinions of the young people were manipulated in various ways. "The young people want," "the young people resolved," these were statements that were supposed to authenticate entirely different actions and interests. Even the songs that were sung in the occupied building were said to have been "composed by the young people themselves." This was not true either. Most of the lyrics and melodies were part of the known "oasis" repertoire, like the one with the words, "They will not make me a scoundrel, they will not take my world away from me." Who are "they" who will "make" and "take," etc.? This question need not be asked, one simply knows. In any case, one must remember that everything surrounding the conflict and the strike will long be the subject of discussions in the town in which there are also persons who have no conception of what actually happened or of the principles on which all state schools in Poland function. For these residents, who are older and not well oriented, primarily the external, purely customary symptoms of this affair are real.

### What Is a Secular School?

After all, not far from the school, at a distance of 200 meters, there is a church and if anyone wants to pray before or after classes, he can always do so without fear or limitation. Were the priests who were in the trade school prepared to teach farming? Why was a state school building chosen for occupation and not, for example, a room used for catechetics? What kind of sanctions are envisioned by our laws for those disturbing the peace and school regulations, for intruders who incite youth? These questions and others must be answered, otherwise the attempt against the secular, Polish school will not get an unequivocal interpretation.

In conclusion, it is worthwhile to cite a segment from the position of the main administration of the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture in the matter of the secular character of the school, education, and rearing, published in April 1984: "As representatives of the secular part of public opinion we look with anxiety on cases of involving the school, the teachers, parents, and especially the children and young people in activity which has nothing to do with protecting their freedom of conscience and belief. It is in the interests of the teachers, parents, and young people that the school might, in an atmosphere of peace, work, tolerance and culture, carry out its important social functions. It is the responsibility of the state and society to provide these conditions for the school."

If the school is a place of the cult, then it is only the cult of knowledge, learning and work.

2950

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POLAND

ENGINEERS FLEE FROM PUBLIC TO PRIVATE SECTOR

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 50, 9 Dec 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Andrezej Polakowski: "The Engineer Lost in the Woods"]

[Text] Making an accurate count of engineers and technicians who have persisted in serving the socialized economy would exhaust one's patience. Statistics are never too accurate, and the exceptional fluidity of this type of personnel usually encumbers them with a considerable error.

The Polish occupational register from 1977 provides surprisingly abundant data. At that time we had 22.5 engineers per 1,000 professionally employed people (not counting agriculture). This is twice as many as in France, more than two one-half times as many as in Great Britain, and almost twice as many as in the United States. Before euphoria sets in prematurely, let me immediately add that such national data are already out of date before they can be published, because of the constant movement of these people, roaming into and out of branches, sectors, and common entrepreneurship today.

While shifting from an armchair in one plant to an ordinary chair in another causes only temporary difficulties in adaptation and accounting, the complete renunciation of his profession by an engineer or technician has a jarring effect upon the efficiency of our economy. However, such departures are quite common.

Handicrafts in Bialystok, Lomza and Suwalki provinces greeted 1984 with a throng of 1,151 technicians and 193 engineers, not counting graduates of other higher educational schools and institutions. According to our calculations more than 20 percent of the drivers of passenger, baggage, and freight taxis in the Bialystok Association of Private Transport can be assumed to have diplomas from a school of higher education or a technical institute. Precise data cannot be determined because those in common private initiative try hard to conceal their real professions.

A taxi driver with a master's degree in engineering acknowledges: "Certainly no one would say anything bad to me if I stated my profession. Still, there is something stupid about a man going downward to make money and forgetting his ambitions."

Some people are looking for mountains of gold through emigration and take their various talents to the West. This does not at all change the fact that they are definitely abandoning their profession and renouncing it in favor of some random grillroom or service.

Mieczyslaw Kulczakowicz, the deputy director of the District Geodetic-Cartographic Enterprise in Bialystok, becomes furious when he recounts that some 130 people, mainly technicians, have left his company in 3 years. He says: "They spent a fairly long time in their geodetic apprenticeship and, when they began to prove themselves, they had enough. Eight are driving taxis and some are driving MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise] buses. If they ever had any scruples, they got rid of them. And good money seemingly justifies such decisions."

Certainly 28 people with a higher education, whom we meet in the Bialystok Private Trade and Services Association at the counters of kitchen gardens, florist shops and bars, left with this assumption. In this way studies of higher mathematics, descriptive geometry and metallography bear fruit in the lucrative calculation of parsley and cabbage heads.

Let us consider the fact that this handful of depressing data concerns events in the northeastern region, which is not one of the most industrialized regions, and is not breaking any records in the numbers of professional engineers and technicians, nor in the extent of education in these professionals. The problems pointed out on this microscale are many times repeated in every major industrial region.

#### Corridors of Defection

Effectiveness. Electrical engineer Waldemar Marciniak, the owner of a mechanics shop in Starosielce, got rid of his disillusion a couple of years ago.

He recalls: "Immediately after my studies I went to work in the Acoustics Apparatus Plant as a designer. I was also associated for a short time with Polmozbyt, concerned among other things with the selection of sound level meters in vehicles. I made rotating counters and other parts. Perhaps others might be satisfied with this, but I was not. I felt underworked. And I would have been bored to death for small wages if I had not had the idea of opening my own shop, a modest business where I could fully utilize my knowledge from the technical institute, the higher institute, and my modicum of experience and interests. I like to make something concrete that a buyer can rapidly see is useful. Therefore I even prefer tightening screws and attaching wires to the projects of the greatest genius whose destination is a desk drawer."

Discord. Walenty Turowski repairs automobiles in his workshop in the village of Zawada. He is a mechanical engineer and, after his studies, was routinely employed in construction in Bialystok industry, but he did not stay there long. Now, fiddling with a dismounted gearbox, he says that his previous job in the Mechanical Plants of the Construction Ceramics Industry, and especially the incessant demands and schemes, got under his skin.

"I was the production leader and had a special fund at my disposal with which I paid people for their work, and not for their name. I turned out to be a disaster because I did not honor the recognized hierarchy and fraudulent services. Once a stranger from the association came to me and began to explain something to me about fraud and abuse, about some easy details in the recognized distribution of the dough. Later it was explained that this chat was not accidental, because I was young and was already driving a compact and smoking Carmens. They wanted to convert me, drawing me toward various organizations, but it was clear that I was already ruined because I kept saying that I was satisfied to continue in production. They treated this as a subterfuge, and thus I had no life. I packed up my things and looked for a more reasonable association."

Ambition. In the village of Szelachowskie, the abundance of engineers exceeded the expectations of the local farmers. Two enterprising men with diplomas are building a sturdy shop there and are already making furniture. Nearby Stefan Zyskowski felt at home in his automobile shop.

He is surprised by his own memories. "I have already been...an agronomist, an administrator, a chairman and a director. Always in agriculture. After all, I have real agricultural roots and education. When, toward the end of the 1970's, they were organizing production cooperatives with particular enthusiasm, I moved into the first rank. I did not do too badly when I organized 34 of them in half a year. I was a sensation, took first place in the country, had an audience in the ministry, and, as a reward, a coupon for a compact car. In 1980 I took leave without pay and traveled to the United States. I lingered there and they dismissed me from my job before I returned. Then I had to be requalified and start from zero as some kind of inspector. More papers, more business trips, simulated activity in the company. I decided to be honorable and went on my own.

"There was a dilapidated workshop for sale, and I had become familiar with vehicle mechanics in America. I usually make up my mind quickly, so I went into debt, invested a little, passed seven examinations in a row, and now I am reaping the profits. I no longer dream of an office, measure time from morning tea to afternoon tea, or think of silly directives from some fortuitous leader."

Reduction. Henryk Pawluczuk was the director of the office of the Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers and Technicians in a macroregion. He was supposed to stimulate progress, but today he turns wooden elements for staircase railings and produces various items to furnish single family houses. In leaving the job he anticipated a decision to liquidate the office,

found a windfall in the form of a useful occupation paying considerably more, established his workshop, and has no regrets.

Cash. Leslaw Zwolinski resigned from a very low salary in industry several years ago. He said: "I would not be Leslaw Zwolinski if I had stuck it out this long. At that time I was earning about 4,000 zlotys and, when I used my gray matter, it was to establish some kind of business and support my family. At that time we were all earning our way, and we knew that we might have to keep doing so all our lives with no prospects and not much satisfaction. Today I am driving for scale, plan my own working hours, and cannot complain about the income."

#### Explosion of Ingenuity

Engineer Witold W. once gave the following formula for his career: "I threw away all of my ministerial paperwork. I became a partner in a tinsmith shop in the outskirts of Warsaw. I invested a little in a house in the capital and a Mercedes, but mostly in a model tailor shop with a store. I import the newest fashions being worn in Paris, along with some of the material. I already have an 'in' there. I hire tailors for a song and have been acquiring an elite clientele from unexploited circles. Tinsmithing no longer interests me. In addition, I seldom go into the clothing store, because I have people for that. I am now investing in a residential home in a village in the suburbs, with an orchard of a few acres, transportation, and a gardening service."

This conversation took place 4 years ago. Today Mr Witold is up to his ears in the vegetable business, considers himself a successful producer, is making money, and is contemplating future plans.

"How did you keep your head working in a subordinate ministerial position?" I inquired. "Well, I did not really keep it. My head requires freedom in order to think clearly. It goes into a trance when I have to reproduce funds. Especially my own."

It is hard to applaud such a philosophy without reservations, but facts are facts. Operating units, which are decidedly at risk and which demand hard physical or mental labor, predominate among the engineers and technicians who have rejected their learned profession. In a word, they are valuable men.

#### The Technique of Pouring Out the Baby With the Bath Water

Claims and facts collided in the Lodz hall in the negotiations between the Main Council of NOT [Chief Technical Organization] and delegates to the Congress of Polish Technicians. They were discussing the need, the outright necessity, of strengthening the personnel of the industrial echelon working for progress. They also discussed the fact that, in trying to obtain these so-called administrative increments, they have rid the factories of design offices, experimental projects, centers of technical information and libraries, and have completely undercut the innovational branch which was supposed to produce results.

In the lobby a representative of a crumbled enterprise in Bielsko-Biala recalled the good old days when 300 engineers and 60 workers were involved in prospects for Polish self-propelled cranes. But when progress became recognized as an abstraction, the bonds of cooperation were broken and a hundred capable engineers were set adrift in the world and, after several years, there may be self-propelled cranes, if someone pushes them.

The deputy director of the Bialystok PKS [State Worker Transport], Zbigniew Lopianecki, returned from the Lodz meeting, bolstered by the appearance of the the chairman. He said: "Up to now we have fought with all of our remaining strength to maintain our own technological and design offices. Our resistance was constantly diminished by the pressure of the workers: 'Liquidate the parasites and there will be more dough to be distributed.' Now my stubbornness has been vindicated and, as long as I have anything to say, I shall not switch designers to a sidetrack."

Support from the highest platform was not expected everywhere. The Ponar-Bipron Plant of the Bialystok Enterprise for the Design and Industrial Supply of Machine Tools and Instruments, which used the efforts of 70 engineers to develop the alarmingly aging machine pool, was reduced to the rank of a department. The Tool Fixture Factory, where a lathe is the equipment and plugs production gaps, absorbed the entrenched two-person team. The "Research and Studies Department" in the Bialystok Pakpol Experimental Packaging Enterprise fell apart, and with it those who had to demonstrate the importance of the factory name by their work. Krzysatof Lazny ended up in quality control.

In a report of the "engineers' situation," signed in 1982 by the chairman of the NOT Scientific-Technical Committee Cadre Improvement, Prof Janusz Tymowski, we read: "In Poland, along with a very high degree of saturation of industry by engineers, there is a particularly acute saturation in large cities. With cheap engineers ready to perform every type of work, the factories located in these places hire engineers for positions which do not require their qualifications, while at the same time real shortages of engineers appear in the provinces. The excessive engineer drain is caused primarily by technicians' abandoning their current work positions and moving to positions where, in turn, their qualifications may not be used, such as subordinate office positions and working positions, those which are to some extent intended for trained workers. According to the 1977 register, 252,802 technicians, i.e., 26 percent of all technicians working in the national economy, were in qualified worker positions, and 8,536 in trained worker positions.

"...A second factor, associated with the lack of interest in technological progress on the part of managers and factories, is the apparent shortage of tasks requiring engineering work. 'Apparent' because the quality of items produced is low, material consumption high, manufacturing costs high, without anyone submitting these types of tasks to the engineers."



This vicious circle is still rolling along, although these are proponents of a return to reason. The incalculable waste of qualifications and ambition is accompanied by a pay anomaly which causes such a great theoretical staff of potential creators of new technology to usually be ineffective. And certainly there is still no reason for enthusiasm about its numbers.

#### Bread, Water and Ambition

The deputy minister of labor, wages, and social affairs joined the discussions at the meeting in the Bialystok Province Office with members of the PTE [Polish Economic Society] and representatives of scientific and technological associations. He called a guest engineer from the design office to the table.

The latter said: "Mr Minister, I earn 14,000 zlotys. I am not a blockhead, I have good opinions, my designs make sense and, after 10 years of work, every month I take home to my family 16,000 zlotys less than a charwoman who cleans cars."

The reply was more or less that engineers will not earn 26,000 zlotys until they devise machines to replace the charwoman.

A burst of laughter filled the hall, and he continued. "Perhaps you do not know that there are such machines. Unfortunately, it is not profitable to sell or manufacture them, because they are too expensive."

I wonder whether this supplementary comment touches the essence of the matter. ("You have undoubtedly already forgotten how it is, Mr Minister. Today the engineer is the candidate for a position on a pedestal for a specific kind of forced altruism.") A great many of the people running the economy come from this environment, and they should understand engineering duties and should strive more effectively for their proper compensation. Meanwhile, such payment is considered a benefit.

The ratio between the engineering and technological wages and the wages of laborers has systematically diminished. In 1955 this came to 1:6, and in 1979 to only 1:25. In the machine industry, ferrous metallurgy, and the food branch the average wages were almost equal in 1980.

The chairman of the SIMP [Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers and Technicians] Advocacy Commission for Bialystok Workers, Stefan Borecki, has available current data from an inquiry on the subject of engineers' wages in the province. They are alarming. The wages of mechanical engineers, compared to those of laborers paid by the day in tool departments, repair departments, etc., amount to about 10.8, and come to about 0.4-0.5 with respect to the wages of piece-workers.

Looking for more reasonable relationships, I recall that in 1979 the ratio in France was about 2.8:1; in the FRG about 2.6:1, and so forth. Obviously

this does not constitute discrimination against workers; but an evaluation of the mental work, lopsided today, but decisive in the future for the level of technology.

"If our disproportions are not diminished," Stefan Borecki admonished, "the rest of the most active people will go and sell flowers. Even now 80 percent of such decisions are certainly provoked by financial problems."

In the report mentioned above, which has not lost much of its currency, Prof Tymowski wrote: "Low engineering wages provoke a loss of interest in their own work and a search for additional wages, sometimes associated with a breach of professional ethics, such as subjecting the results of streamlining to deliberately imperfect design, registering for compensation for results which they had no part in, unjustified foreign trips, and so on.

"The desire to improve qualifications vanishes, movement between plants increases, and the tendency to emigrate out of the country becomes immensely stronger. The authority of the engineer in the plant drops, along with interest in technical studies.

"The low basic wages also inspire trends to expand the organizational structure and to multiply the leadership oppositions which are entitled to supplements for administration."

There is nothing to add (except comment on the subject of feeble attempts at salvation from oppression).

#### Reason With a Leak

The professional specialization of engineers was sanctioned in 1983 by decree No 66 of the Council of Ministers. Today in the northeastern provinces interest in this form of developing horizons is symbolic. Romana Twarowska from the Bialystok Department of Cadre Improvement and Technological Progress of the NOT RW Provincial Council still has no applications and believes that the road to gaining a degree is too complicated, and this causes the stagnation. Participation in postgraduate courses, lectures, examinations, a creative work, forms, opinions...The average engineer enthusiastic about specialization would have to give up all private initiative for several years in order to achieve a supplement on the order of 1,500 to 3,000 zlotys with his first degree, and from 3,500 to 5,000 with his second degree.

Inflation accountants and engineers themselves believe that, before the first supplementary payments are obtained, the rates will not have reached their lowest expression. Moreover, the fact that both opinions about the qualifying work of an engineer and the amount of the mentioned "honorarium" are treated in contractual categories and depend to a considerable extent on the administration of the parent plant is even more discouraging. We know how work in favor of progress is treated in the

majority of enterprises today, and we also know that specialized supplements cannot help encumbering the enterprise wage fund. The director faces an alternative: distribute the funds and become reconciled with the increased PFAZ [State Vocational Activation Fund] taxation, or snatch a little money from the workers, for example. In this situation (if a procedure is not set up), the managers will select a third solution: they will cease to support initiatives for subordinate specialization.

Unfortunately, no clear settlement of the matter of the basic pay level of engineers can be expected, despite many interventions, for example, on the part of NOT associations. Only on 17 October did the minister of labor, wage and social affairs sign "guidelines" (the characteristic pace on the eve of the Lodz meeting of engineers and technicians with the participation of the highest authorities).

The result of this document is that acknowledging qualifications in the form of a diploma at the very time an engineer or technician is employed always has to be honored by an assignment to him of so-called guaranteed wages. It is acknowledged that an engineer should earn within the limits of 1.3-1.6 of the mean factory wages, while a senior foreman and foreman should earn from 1.1 to 1.3 of the mean wages of the work force directed by him.

Unpleasant experiences demonstrate that every such rigid "fork" becomes troublesome in time. This would already be progress anyway, sometimes presaging even a twofold increase in engineering recruitment compared to the current rate. Unfortunately this is wishful thinking for the present, because it is difficult to imagine the implementation of this concept. It would require a considerable increase in the factory wage fund and would introduce the interested parties to the same woods I described in the reflections on specialization.

These may be premature worries, because the department has announced a cycle of objective consultations on various levels, beginning with the highest. Thus it looks like long negotiations, despite the fact that time is pressing and has an exceptionally destructive effect on the status of the technical cadre.

\* \* \*

Disinvestment of the machine pool, its aging, and the import and license barriers hindering the rate of equipment renovation are still no cause for cheering for rapid decisions regarding the status of the engineer. At the same time, despite the intentions of the authors of its assumptions, the principles of the economic reform far too often produce ingenuity in attempts at tactical dodges. Instead of efficient use of the plant reserves (even in innovative activity), they provoke a wave of public complaints and grievances (only slightly justified), accompanied by negotiations on tax or credit relief, on subsidies, and on other forms of support. The

"overproduction of engineers," who should "form the framework of new technology," only deepens the organizational and fiscal errors, because the cheapness of this work force and its surplus just encourage waste.

I am writing about this in a somewhat exaggerated way in order to bring to mind the fact that an abundance of better or worse central decisions and regulations cannot replace common sense. This again evokes the fact that reliance on an uncle who simplifies everything can end in simple bankruptcy.

6806

CSO: 2600/333

POLAND

# CONTROVERSIAL EDITOR OF POLITICAL WEEKLY CRITICIZED

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 2, 13 Jan 85 p 16

[Article by Bozena Krzywoblocka: "Mischievous Kazio and His Subordinates"]

[Text] Many years ago a youth film called "The Lavender Hill Mob" had been shown on motion picture screens. That was a story about poor boys who engaged in mischiefmaking and whom villainous adults exploited for unworthy ends. The boys, anxious for the attention of adults and desiring adventure, of course let themselves be exploited by the villains, but after a time their eyes were opened by a noble and also adult person, they turned against the unsavory manipulators and, as the expression goes, let them have it in the eye. The film had a happy end, combined with truly Anglo-Saxon angelic choirs. This was to imbue the youthful viewers with a wondrous optimism.

That was indeed a somewhat old-fashioned film, and in particular its naive happy end does not suit the present-day films for children and youth, with their rather gloomy tenor, which are shown nowadays in our cinemas.

Likewise, even the admirable ideas of the decisionmakers responsible for the level of national thinking and awareness, with their far-reaching optimism, do not fit our reality.

A couple of years ago, for example, there was conceived the praiseworthy notion of establishing a periodical intended to represent the creative and artistic community united by the revivifying idea of national rebirth and reforms in social and ideological life.

The periodical was to be a tribune for rational thought; it was to publish articles by representatives of Marxist tenets, but it also was not to avoid dialogue with the circles disposed critically toward the reality of martial law. The discussions were to be open and candid while at the same time not lacking a certain drama relating to the country's difficult situation.

Hence, the initiators and animators of that idea pondered how to select the editorial board so as to safeguard these difficult starting premises.

And when the time came and word became deed... hardly anything remained of these noble intentions of the decisionmakers. For the weekly that began to be published carefully insulated itself from any contact with Marxist ideas. The publicistic fervor of a certain columnist called Jan Rem effectively repelled those who held opinions different from those of the leading publicists of POLITYKA. Similarly, the editorial board list gradually decreased, losing those of its members who became bereft of the illusion that they would be able to express their own views in the periodical and even have excerpts from their literary works published in it. No one could represent himself in that periodical more than its editor-in-chief. A pun could be made on the well-known opinion of the Church that he whom the Lord endows with power will also be endowed with reason... and numerous talents such as those of a publicist, a writer of juvenile and adult fiction, a historian, an economist and the organizer of a press concern (in this case the editor-in-chief is at the same time a commentator, a reporter, a columnist, etc., etc.).

To be sure, the editor-in-chief has been guiding himself by an infallible compass, namely, the line followed by POLITYKA, which he praised to himself and others as an unmatched model. Whoever did not like that model left the ship and did not always find himself in clean water, as he was sometimes spattered with mud, so that he would remember that only one truth can be proclaimed--namely, the truth presented by the editor-in-chief.

So what if historical articles sometimes missed the truth. The Czytelnik Press, which has always been favorably disposed toward Mischievous Kazio, published them rapidly and efficiently, and they were written with the laudable intent of ridiculing our national history, particularly "bohaterszczyzna" [hero worship]. Every more or less successful work of art met with immediate applause (so long as it was written or filmed in that debunking tenor so beloved by the editor-in-chief). If, however--o horrors!--an author happened to display the morbid tendency toward patriotic emotions, no mercy was shown for such a miserable cipher. The editor-in-chief was seized by a trance; he thundered, he derided and he pronounced the work to be worthless. This has continued to this day and properly speaking, everyone, except persons unfamiliar with highfaluting witticisms, has become accustomed to the publicistic conventions of the weekly published by Mischievous Kazio and his troop of young and capable cub scouts. But a new stage has arrived; ideological life within the party is starting to undergo a renaissance, despite, to be sure, tremendous difficulties.

With concern and gravity, cultural activists and party publicists and theoreticians are speaking of the ideological front. Even that discussion demonstrates that we still do not know how to interpret the political and ideological purport of certain novels or of a series of newly produced Polish films declared to be works of genius. In recent years it has become possible to discuss now and then among the party scientists any steps taken to obstruct the expansion of Marxism in the social sciences. Incidentally, participating in these discussions were persons responsible for the breaches in the

ideological front, both in the 1970's and early in this decade. I have not heard a word of self-criticism from them. Perhaps besides we on our part failed to ask so-called sharp questions. And besides the meetings were attended by a crowd of kibitzers.

Those kibitzers also included the subordinates and buddies of Mischievous Kazio. I wanted--and not just out of a purely feminine curiosity--to see in what direction would our manipulated mob of boys from Lavender Hill proceed. Would their youthful (hmm...) ears listen to the words of bitter truth uttered during the discussions? It turned out, however, that our kiddie troop continues to parrot the talk of the scoutmaster as if echoing a mother's prayer.

Now the weekly has rung the tocsin because those horrible Marxists reject ideological pluralism and even demand a worthy place for scientific socialism in scientific life. On the occasion, my favorite, the ideological pillar of NOWE DROGI, that is, Ludwik Krasucki himself, presented his views in a manner displaying a remarkable flexibility. (but when writing for NOWE DROGI [a Marxist journal] he adopts a somewhat different tenor, eh?).

Well, what about the pluralism of outlook championed so ardently by the weekly of Scoutmaster Kazio? It is worth bearing in mind that the road to hell is paved with good intentions. The transparent intention was to declare oneself and the periodical as the leading liberals in the Polish People's Republic. Except that history is not quite what Mischievous Kazio wants us to believe it is. He is well aware that people have a long memory and, in this connection, circulation is declining steeply, oh, how steeply.... Even the ogling of liberalism and malcontent kibitzers at discussion meetings will not help. The Lavender Hill boys have actively redeemed their mistakes, escaping the snares of manipulation and evil deeds.

1386

CSO: 2600/624

POLAND

# BOOK ON POLISH JEWS REVIEWED

AU131415 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 3 Feb 85 pp 9, 14

[Review by Ireneusz Gwidon Kaminski: "They Keep on Fashioning Us"]

[Excerpts] An interesting book entitled "Jews, Poland, and Solidarity" was published in Paris in April. Its author Michel Wieviorka is a sociologist. [passage omitted] His book was financed by the Foundation for Jewish Culture and was assisted by brilliant experts on the subject, especially by Irena and Aleksander Smolar, Jan Maretik, Krzysztof Pomian, and Ryszard Stawiariski. [passage omitted]

Having received such solid intellectual assistance, the author decided to acquire first-hand experience and traveled to Poland in 1981. His guide was the aforementioned Ryszard Stawiariski, who had participated in the August strike in the Szczecin shipyards, and Bronislaw Germek, Lech Walesa's top advisor, ardently encouraged him to trace the history of alleged Polish anti-semitism. On his way to the coast he stopped over in Warsaw to pay a call on his very old cousin and to give her some candies and dollars. He was very much surprised that this lady, who had been a high party official and lives on a pension for meritorious people, demonstrated to him a hatred of the Poles "that I have never thought was at all possible." Our Michel wrote that he was relieved to take leave of that lady from another epoch. This gesture made him more likable insofar as I was concerned.

We have broached the subject, so let us take a look at the book. Part one is entitled "Solidarity and Anti-Semitism." The author states that the specter of antisemitism appeared between Solidarity's Congress in Gdansk and Marian Jurczyk's speech at Trzebiatowo. Let us recall that Jurczyk issued threats in his speech that he would unmask all those who hid behind assumed Polish names. The author then cites these features of Solidarity gangrene: Lech Walesa's private vocabulary is full of antisemitic phrases; one Stanislaw [surname not given] from Gdansk said that KOR [Workers Self-Defense Committee] is a gang of Jews and should be avoided; a fellow from Warsaw recalled the 1940's in Warsaw when cars owned by Jewish functionaries would disgorge in front of a school their sons, who treated their Polish colleagues with contempt; Bronislaw Germek was not elected to the National Commission of Solidarity because he was a Jew; permission was refused to hang up the Star of David among the emblems decorating the hall in which the Congress of Solidarity was held;



and one Kazimierz [surname not given] from Lodz said that a workers government should be set up, but that it should not include anyone who cannot prove to be a genuine Pole. [passage omitted]

Mr Wieviorka states: "KOR is a target of antisemitic attacks. Charges are being made against the intellectuals from democratic opposition that they are promoting political activities and trying to create an elite that is to be a new version of the bourgeoisie modeled on the red bourgeoisie of the Stalinist period, which consisted mostly of Jews." [passage omitted]

Mr Wieviorka also sees antisemitism in the Catholic Church, because, as he thinks, "the church has for centuries been a center of classic Christian antisemitism and was between the wars a bulwark of nationalism, which tried to eliminate the Jews from economic life." [passage omitted]

Part two of the book is entitled "The Development of Modern Antisemitism." The author discusses Polish-Jewish relations as of 1963 and although he uses tendentious anti-Polish propaganda arguments, he displays objectivity here and there. For example he points out the far-reaching tolerance toward Jews in the Poland of the gentry in contrast to the Western countries, sees the share of the Russian-speaking Jews who helped to Russianize the Kingdom of Poland [part of Russia in the 19th century], is aware of the competitive struggle between the burgeoning Polish capitalism and Jewish capitalism and is quite explicit about the baleful rule of Berman [security boss] in 1948-56. [passage omitted]

Wievorka describes the present Jewish community in Poland as follows: "Many Jews are very old people, whose existence has no longer any meaning. Other Jews who have been assimilated and turned into Poles were at one time members of the Stalinist regime and are now leading quiet lives outside of the corridors of power. Still other Jews, who have also been assimilated into Polish life, are primarily democrats and actors on the political stage. They are committed to contests [kontestacja], but they are still aware of the Jewish origins."

The author places this group of Jews in KOR, in the communities supporting KOR, and among students, journalists, scientists, and writers. He is fascinated by the renaissance of Jewish national sentiments and writes about it in a number of chapters, including those entitled "The Renaissance of Jewish Life," "Jewish Action," and "The Mobile Jewish University." [passage omitted]

Other examples of this renaissance include the activity of the NOWA publishing house, the publication of ROBOTNIK, and, above all, the activities of KOR, which the author praises most liberally, because it was precisely the awakening of national consciousness that made it possible for the Jews to abandon isolation and to join the stream of political events. The author mentions that when KOR activists were asked about their Jewish origins they regarded such questions as an anti-Semitic attack by political adversaries against democratic values. This entire renaissance action was supported by "progressive Catholic circles," especially by the Clubs of the Catholic Intelligentsia in Warsaw and Krakow, which organized the weeks of Jewish culture in order "to popularize and maintain Judaism in Poland." The leaders in this support were the converts, who were keenly backed by the articles published by ZNAK and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

Whatever Michel Wieviorka tells us in his book could be regarded as an object of curiosity, except for an important reservation. Why is it that this movement of renaissance wholly acceded to the antisocialist forces? What is more, why was it that it became a dominant organizational force with many links with the anti-Polish command centers in the West? It would be worthwhile for our political experts to clarify this question for our public. [passage omitted]

Michel Wieviorka mentions "antisemitism" about three times on every page of his book. He applies this term to some general phenomena and seems not to want to get acquainted with the definition of this term. Our big encyclopedia states: "Anti-Semitism denotes hostility toward the Jews for religious, national, and racial reasons. This term is now being abused by Zionism as a nationalistic ideology."

In his interesting essay entitled "Jewish Themes," which was published by ZDANIE, issues 10 and 11, in 1984, Marian Stepień went into the trouble of analyzing some dozens of novels that were written by Jews and that concern events during the war in Poland. He found out that as of the mid-1960's the books written by these authors began ignoring the German criminals in favor of primarily accusing the Poles of war crimes... This showdown with contemporary Poland, Stepień wrote, is a result of political requirements. The thing is that the cooperation between Israel and the FRG has become very close and the Jews have received high compensation. Apparently gratitude has made it necessary to diminish the guilt of the real criminals and to find a whipping boy. We would like to repeat after Abel: "Brother, what good have I done to you that you hate me so much?"

And so joyous efforts have continued for years to fashion us into antisemites, although no one reproaches the Jews on account of their religion, nationality, and race. To call a spade a spade, we have become objects of international political terror, which is being assisted by our own domestic centers, which continue to support this hue and cry with various publications. The Paris sociologist has carefully listed them in the appendix to his book. This is a sorry show, which morally disqualifies all those who are behind it.

0672

CSO: 2600/614

ROMANIA

LUMEA REPORTS CHERNENKO INTERVIEW TO CNN

AU121520 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No6, 7 Feb 85 p 9

[Text] In an interview granted to the U.S. television network CNN, Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stated that the upcoming Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States include a right scheme--the only possible one under the current circumstances--to solve the problem of nuclear and space weapons. Today, the Soviet leader stated, it is not possible to limit, much less reduce nuclear weapons without adopting some efficient measures which prohibit the militarization of outer space. This organic interdependence--said Konstantin Chernenko--is clearly specified in the joint Soviet-U.S. document, which stresses the fact that the final result of the efforts of the two sides in limiting and reducing armament, must be the complete elimination of nuclear arms.

Further mentioning the reason that the USSR speaks out against the U.S. proposal regarding "the strategic defense initiative," Konstantin Chernenko stated that the militarization of outer space would undermine the Soviet-U.S. agreement on limiting anti-missile defence systems as well as many other international agreements in force and in practice it would mean the end of the process of limiting and reducing nuclear weapons and would become a catalyst of an uncontrolled arms race in all directions. Nevertheless, I would not like to leave the impression that we, the Soviet Union consider the upcoming negotiations as easy--noted the Soviet leader. We regard things realistically and see the existing difficulties, which are not minor ones. But they can be overcome. To accomplish this, the good will of both sides, the will to reach rational compromises, and the strict observance of the principles of equality and equal security are required.

Concluding the new Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons with positive results would have a favorable influence on the situation in the world and would mean an important step on the path of solving the cardinal problems of our time. The Soviet Union will act in this direction and will militate to achieve important and concrete results in Geneva--emphasized Konstantin Chernenko.

CSO: 2700/105

ROMANIA

LUMEA REVIEWS REAGAN STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

AU190916 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 7, 14 Feb 85 pp 10, 11

[Article by Stelian Turlea: "On the State of the Union Address"]

[Text]. President Ronald Reagan presented the annual State of the Union address on 6 February. Calling upon the country for "a new American Revolution," the message was clearly not only a work program for the current year, but for the President's entire mandate. However, only a few of his proposals will be easy to fulfill.

A state of the union address always draws attention because it contains--more or less explicitly--the governing program of the administration for the given year. A state of the union address at the beginning of a new term is even more attentively followed by observers and politicians because it may contain, as a whole, projects for the overall presidential term, even in cases when no change in the administration is taking place. Ronald Reagan won the November 1984 elections holding that the things he has begun must be continued. However, the very complex situation requires new and tangible initiatives and not only a simple continuation of programs, all the more so as not all goals proposed by the head of the administration were achieved in the past 4 years. Details on the intentions throughout the second term were, indeed, given in the address made on 6 February before the two houses of Congress.

From the very beginning, certain aspects require our attention. First, the presidential message contained no surprises. Some of his proposals were discussed, in one form or another, during the electoral campaign; others were finalized in the past 2 months and only the question whether the President will now support them or not is an unknown factor. Second, quite an ambitious work agenda, even for a first term when an administration wants to clearly differ from the preceding one, was presented. Third, there was a clearly optimistic tone in the speech, even in connection with the serious aspects of the U.S. economy. Fourth, knowing that the benefits from a broad popularity and from a favorable state of mind, the President presented things in such a way that the members of the legislative forum will understand that any failure will be to a great extent because of the eventual obstructions by Congress and not because of the philosophy of the White House.

The starting point of the new proposals is, of course, different from the situation 4 years ago. "Four years ago, we began to change our assumptions about

government and its place in our lives," the President said. "Four years ago, we said we would invigorate our economy. We did what we promised." The inflation rate dropped to an average of 3.9 percent (the lowest in 17 years), 7.3 million new jobs have been created, and investments and productivity have increased. However, the critics of the administration's economic policy also finds arguments to present a different image: the struggle against inflation is not definitively won and at any time other failures can reignite inflation (a fact that has been admitted even by members of the administration); the unemployment rate is still 7.4 percent of the labor force; it actually equals the percentage 4 years ago; social inequalities have increased even according to official statistics; the huge budget deficit that increased a few times during the preceding term has now turned into a major threat for any economic project. Aware of these facts, the President specified: "We are not here to congratulate ourselves on what we have done, but to challenge ourselves to finish what has not yet been done."

Calling, as on other occasions, for contesting "conventional wisdom," the President especially dwelled on certain measures aimed at improving economic activity and at cutting back on the budget deficit. Among the "new challenges," he proposed the plan worked out by the former secretary of the treasury regarding a ["historic"] reform of taxes which are viewed as "unfair and limiting our potential for growth." "Low-income families face steep tax barriers that make difficult lives even more difficult." The tax reform--that will not mean a tax increase in disguise, a measure that has been and continues to be opposed by the President--envisages the removal of tax preferences, a top tax rate of no more than 35 percent, a reduction of corporate rates, [as published] and the exemption of income tax for people living at or near the poverty line. The President dwelled on expanding the spirit of enterprise, especially in the most distressed areas of the country, and advocated the adoption of a law on the creation of economic zones to help those living in peripheral areas to find a job more easily. This measure is based on the idea, accepted even by the President, that as long as black people and minorities do not have an appropriate economic foundation, one cannot truly speak of equality and respect for civil rights. (A short time ago the head of the administration expressed his dissatisfaction with the articulate criticism voiced by the leaders of the black population). The President supported the proposal on the partial remuneration of young people's work (i.e. employing them for less than the minimum wages), as a possibility to cut back on the very high unemployment rate among young people. So far, only a few trade union leaders have accepted this idea.

The President stressed once again that the budget deficit can best be reduced through economic growth and a reduction of government expenditures. "To move steadily toward a balanced budget we must also lighten government's claim on our total economy. We will not do this by raising taxes. We must make sure that our economy grows faster than growth in spending by the federal government." The President mentioned the freezing of government programs proposed in the draft budget and the elimination of the costly government subsidies. ("Our farm program costs have quadrupled in recent years. We can help farmers best not by expanding federal payments, but by making fundamental reforms, keeping interest rates heading down, and knocking down foreign trade barriers to American farm exports.") The President renewed two of the proposals that failed during the

first term: The adoption of a constitutional amendment envisaging that the federal government should not spend more than it takes in (which has been supported so far by 32 states) and the right to veto individual items in expenditures programs. Within the context of economic growth and cutting back on the budget deficit, the President dwelled on a sound monetary policy: "We will continue to cooperate with the Federal Reserve Board, seeking steady policy that ensures price stability, without keeping interest rates artificially high or needlessly holding down growth."

Other domestic projects to which the President referred were also on the agenda of recent years: Continuing the reduction of unneeded federal regulations; removing price controls in the energy sector; the continuation of research work in outer space; the preservation of natural resources; the improvement of education; the law on prohibiting abortion; and strengthening measures aimed at stopping "the explosion of violent crime."

At the foreign level, although he reiterated well-known Republican ideas, the President no longer used the harsh tone of former years, especially when referring to the Soviet Union. According to the head of the U.S. Administration, the "alliances (of the United States) are stronger than ever" (the split in the South Pacific apparently is of no great concern). Stressing that ever since 1981, the United States has been concerned with achieving "fair and verifiable arms agreements that would lower the risk of war and reduce the size of nuclear arsenals," the President said: "All of us have no greater dream than to see the day when nuclear weapons are banned from this Earth forever." Despite all this, the President asked Congress to endorse the continuation of the MX missiles program (the program will be voted on in the spring) and the beginning of the project of creating a space military system (SDI).

Also at the foreign level, the President once again stressed his opposition to protectionism; he proposed a new round of trade negotiations to develop world trade; he asked congress to endorse the continuation of all programs on aid to Central America and so forth.

This presidential call for a "Second American Revolution" was received in a different way by the Congress members who, on the whole, accept the ideas, but not the proposed methods. The Senate majority leader, Republican Senator Robert Dole, was inclined to believe that the President "had said all this before." The official response of the Democrats to the presidential address is characterized by a rather conciliatory tone. Part of the presidential initiatives will surely not be adopted by Congress (or only after long delays); the Constitutional amendment, for instance. Congress itself urges a cutback in the budget deficit, but has a somewhat different vision than the White House; it accepts the freeze and cutback on social programs only if there will be cutbacks also in the sums allocated for the Pentagon. ("More guns, less butter, this is the essence of Ronald Reagan's budget for the 1986 fiscal year," wrote NEWSWEEK obviously referring to similar controversies 20 years ago). Any presidential effort to give priority to the fiscal reform will be stopped by Congress--as Senator Dole stated--which prefers to first attack the deficit (Larry Speakes, White House spokesman, stated that the President gives them

"equal priority.") Finally, any delay in reducing the budget deficit will cause Congress to again raise the idea of increasing taxes, a fact that would completely overthrow White House plans. But such developments are, for the time being--when the second term has only just begun--simple speculations by political observers.

CSO: 2700/105

ROMANIA

PDPA CENTRAL COMMITTEE BIRTHDAY MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU

AU122146 Bucharest SCINTEIA Romanian 7 Feb 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan conveys to you warm congratulations and comradely greetings on the occasion of your birthday.

Between our parties, countries, and peoples we have comradely relations of close friendship, which serve the interest of the struggle against imperialism.

We particularly appreciate your important efforts to consolidate peace throughout the world and your contribution to the cause of solidarity between socialist Romania and revolutionary Afghanistan.

On the occasion of your birthday we convey to you our cordial greetings and we take this opportunity to wish you--as head of the Romanian people--the achievement of ever greater successes in fulfilling the historical decisions of the 13th RCP Congress for the prosperity of your great fatherland and for consolidating peace throughout the world.

With comradely greetings,

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee.

CSO: 2700/105



ROMANIA

LAO LEADERS THANK-YOU MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU

AU051006 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Feb 85 p 6

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

We wish to thank you, and through you the party, the government, and the Romanian people for the warm greetings and cordial wishes you conveyed to us on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

We believe that the friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between the Lao and the Romanian parties, Governments, and peoples will further consolidate on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and internationalist socialism and in the interest of peace and socialism.

We wish the Romanian people ever greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th PCP Congress and in turning Romania into a powerful country with an ever increasing standard of living for the Romanian people.

Kaysone Phomvihane, secretary general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and chairman of the Supreme People's Council.

CSO: 2700/105

ROMANIA

OPREA, OTHERS RECEIVE CANADIAN OFFICIAL

AU061826 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1541 GMT 6 Jan 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/2/1985--During the interview between Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, and Peter Hancock, director general in Canada's Foreign Ministry, chairman for Canada of the joint Romanian-Canadian Governmental Commission for the Promotion of Trade and Economic Cooperation, the steadily ascending course was highlighted of the economic ties between Romania and Canada, which develop in the spirit of the understandings reached during the summit talks. Aspects were approached related to the further development of bilateral cooperation in fields of mutual interest, to the expansion and diversification of goods exchanges.

The interview was attended by Alexandru Rosu, minister secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, chairman for Romania of the joint commission.

The guest was also received by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Petre Gigea, minister of finance, Cornel Mihulecea, chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Power, and Nicolae Andrei, president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700/105

ROMANIA

RCP MESSAGE TO CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AU051002 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Feb 85 p 5

[Message sent by the RCP Central Committee to the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee on the 55th anniversary of the party's creation and the 35th anniversary of establishing Romanian-Vietnamese diplomatic relations]

[Text] To the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee

On the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the foundation of the CPV, we convey to you, to all communists, and to all the friendly Vietnamese people warm congratulations and our comradely greetings.

During its 55 years of existence, the CPV has led the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against colonial domination and imperialist interference and for the triumph of the socialist revolution, the homeland's reunification, and the building of the new order on the free Vietnamese territory.

During all this period, relations of friendship and militant solidarity have been established between the RCP and the CPV. The communist and all our people have followed with warm sympathy and assisted in many ways the just cause and tireless struggle of the CPV and of all the Vietnamese people for national and social liberation and to safeguard their national independence.

We sincerely rejoice in the successes registered by the Vietnamese working people, under their party leadership, in establishing the technical and material base of socialism and in comprehensively developing their homeland, and increasing the people's standard of living.

We express again our belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPV will further develop in the spirit of agreements adopted during summit meetings, for the benefit of the Romanian and Vietnamese people and in the interest of the cause of peace and international cooperation.

On this occasion too, we extend to all communists and all the Vietnamese people the wish for new successes in fulfilling the decisions of the 5th party congress in building socialism and in the struggle to fulfill the Vietnamese people's aspiration for peace, progress and well-being.

The RCP Central Committee

ROMANIA

ROMANIA LIBERA ON BUILDING EUROPEAN SECURITY

AU141512 ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by Nicolae Lupu: "European Security Must be Built Through Actions by All States on the Continent"]

[Text] The general development of the situation in Europe and in the world makes the European countries, irrespective of their social system, aspire more forcefully than ever to promoting their own interests and to ensure that these interests are appropriately taken into consideration in negotiations and in making major decisions in international relations. Certainly, as in the past, this tendency is confronted by the practice of treating the European countries as second category subjects or as important instruments which are however subordinated to global interests defined without their participation. Europe's division into opposing military blocs undoubtedly has a share in this, a situation within the context of which any tendency to surmount it and to aspire to a united Europe, without blocs and confrontations, is viewed by the partisans of the bloc policy as destabilizing and condemnable. However, the very lack of European initiative and the paralysis created by the bloc policy have proved to be the source of destabilization and imbalance.

A great deal has been said, for instance, in West European capitals to the effect that the noted NATO decision on the deployment of intermediate-range cruise and Pershing II missiles was primarily determined by the "need" to not permit the "decoupling" of the American military system from the West European one. In other words, to involve the United States through a greater physical and especially nuclear presence in a possible conflict in the "European combat theater."

Apart from the fact that the rhetoric exercises on the subject of a nuclear conflict in Europe are absurd, we must however note in this context that ever since the idea of creating a new system of antimissile weapons in outer space has appeared in Washington, Western capitals once again speak about the "decoupling danger." This time not because of the nondeployment of missiles in Western Europe, but because of the deployment of new systems in space that would cancel any nuclear dissuasion in Europe.

Does this not suffice to draw the conclusion that any security policy that is not based on a cutback, but on an increase and improvement in nuclear weapons is destabilizing and constitutes a source for increasingly greater dangers?

The conclusion is more and more obvious that the natural differences in opinion stem from specific interests which must be reconciled for the general benefit of peace and cooperation; this is proven by the interesting stands--explicit and implicit--taken by certain West European countries which favor an intensified East-West dialogue to achieve European unity and serious disarmament negotiations with guaranteed larger participation. British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe recently stated: "East-West relations have become a major concern of the British Government ever since I have been foreign secretary. I hope to see increased trade, political, and all kinds of relations between the East and West. This does not mean violating any one's rights or questioning individual national achievements." Adding that "there cannot be any winner in a nuclear conflict," the British foreign secretary concluded: "Therefore we have a common and urgent interest to cooperate to seek means of reducing the dependence on great nuclear powers and to preserve security with fewer risks and a lower price." The British premier has even defined four precise conditions which, in her view, reflect the interests of the West European countries in the coming Soviet-American negotiations: 1. The establishment of a balance between the USSR and the United States and not seeking superiority; 2. The plans on the deployment of weapons systems in outer space must be brought to the negotiating table; 3. The aim of the negotiations must not be to undermine nuclear dissuasion; 4. East-West negotiations must ensure security with a reduced level of offensive weapons.

Although such formulations are still due to the captivating thought about the stabilizing role of a certain level of nuclear weapons, it has to be stressed that here we can find a dissociation from the theses encouraging the armament spiral. Probably more time is needed until the idea is accepted that any kind of level of nuclear weapons constitutes a source of danger and that only their complete and definitive elimination is the only and truly invigorating dissuasion in the peoples' interests.

The French Foreign Ministry spokesman went even further when he said--after the publication of the Geneva communique on the resumption of Soviet-American negotiations--that "France favors a substantial and balanced reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the two powers--the most armed ones--to the lowest possible level." In this context he set specifications concerning France's future participation in disarmament negotiations which imply the discussion of France's nuclear weapons under certain circumstances only with its participation. The spokesman stressed: "France does not exclude its participation, at an appropriate time, in eventual negotiations encompassing all countries possessing nuclear weapons. The conditions are the following: The gap between the nuclear arsenal of the two great powers on the one hand and France on the other must be reduced substantially; the great imbalance that exists as regards conventional and chemical weapons must be settled; no new system shall be installed that will destabilize the current bases of dissuasion and peace."

This should mean that if France believes that any increase in nuclear arsenals is incompatible with its interests, it should participate actively in creating the conditions it is talking about, so that these conditions will not exclusively depend on factors outside its interests and desires and outside the desires of the European countries. Maybe for that very reason in a recent speech President Francois Mitterrand deemed it fit to state that Europe does

not amount only to the Common Market or to its neighboring countries. "Europe," he said, "also means other countries and I do hope that the East and West of Europe, ...marked by different political, economic, and social systems, will not miss any opportunity to achieve a rapprochement between their viewpoints. France attaches great importance to preserving the links that have been created, irrespective of how the Helsinki accords are viewed. Since this is a framework within which all European countries are able to meet, why adopt a position of refusal? Let us fully make use of the means available to us. France has also opposed the military race in outer space."

To give an impetus to the process of European security, the West German Foreign Minister Genscher believes that it is useful in this respect to convene--on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act--a conference of the signatory countries, either at foreign minister level or at summit level. Making this proposal at the West European Council's Strasbourg meeting, the West German minister stressed the need for serious disarmament negotiations along with intensified actions to strengthen and deepen cooperation between the Western and Eastern countries in Europe in all fields and with all states in Eastern Europe.

In acting to create a denuclearized zone in the Balkans, Greece--a NATO member country--has declared itself ready to eliminate unilaterally foreign nuclear weapons from its territory in case there is a delay in achieving an agreement. Moreover, even within NATO meetings documents are being presented which contest the justifications on the basis of which unilateral decisions are made concerning new weapons systems, stressing that such decisions are neither in keeping with general interests nor with the individual security interests of each participating country. At a recent meeting, the Canadian Deputy Michael Forrestal presented a study which shows that the creation of "defensive" nuclear systems in outer space will neither be able to ensure the defense of existing nuclear panoplies nor that of the population and that such an initiative is actually at variance with the declared NATO military goals. These weapons systems, the study shows, are "impossible and unrealistic." The West German Deputy Karsten Voigt demonstrated in another study presented at the same meeting that in the next 5 years there are no prospects for meeting U.S. claims for increasing the conventional military expenditures of its West European partners. NATO military commanders have requested an annual real increase of 7 percent in those expenditures by 1990. West European defense ministers have agreed to 3.2 percent. And Voigt stressed that even a 1.5 percent increase cannot be covered. All this shows that decisions are made not by seriously taking into consideration the real requirements and interests of all partners and the current situation, it shows that no alternatives are discussed to offer prospects of eliminating military burdens, and that because of political interests of the given moment a facade of unity based on ambiguous general communique is preferred.

Summarizing the atmosphere and opinions in Western Europe, the U.S. Weekly NEWSWEEK noted that in spite of explanations given by Washington, West European reserves persist. "As almost all West European leaders specified," NEWSWEEK writes, "the United States must establish the best ways and means of communicating with its partners during the whole of the Geneva negotiations. It has been proposed that a group of West European ambassadors in Washington meet

regularly with leading U.S. officials. Such consultations at first hand are indispensable, but do not suffice. NATO is suffering from the effects of time and change. West European and American interests are of a different nature in many important fields, specifically in trade and finances."

The essential problem is not the existence of different interests. They have existed for a long time, irrespective of whether Europe or other areas in the world are at stake. It is essential to clearly understand their causes and to proceed from existing possibilities in today's world in order to define common interests. Such interests cannot be established around political and military constructions emerged from confrontation, but around accepting the inevitable coexistence as a basis of general progress.

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ROMANIA

## IDEOLOGY-POLITICAL CULTURE-SCIENTIFIC LEADERSHIP

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[Article by Ovidiu Trasnea: "Ideology-Political Culture-Scientific Leadership"]

[Text] Mankind is passing through an era that is characterized more than any other by a continuing, active and constantly renewing challenge at options, and this is occurring on all levels of life, individual and social, national and international. The dimensions, rapidity and profusion of changes in social affairs are characteristic of our era, transforming it into a true "ordeal by water" in contemporary history. For that reason, the problem of ideology in general and political ideology specifically, the problem of values in general and political values specifically represent a central problem in the thoughts and existence of contemporary man because the ideological options with their axiological suppositions today constitute decisive decisions for the organization and continuation of human existence and for the destiny of man not only as an individual, but also as a species.

The appearance of the problem of the survival of the species - today threatened by the possibility of a suicidal nuclear war - expresses, certainly, a dramatic change in the human condition for which philosophy is called upon not only to record it, but from which it must also draw all conclusions. This vital problem, as well as others that have already become planetary or global problems, determines on one hand the centrality of political values for today's world - from the moment that these problems call for political solutions - and on the other hand determines the ascension of the role of ideologies in contemporary social and political affairs, as well as the intensification of ideological confrontations in the responses given to these vital problems. If we were to also add the fact that these solutions cannot be extracted from the political and ideological arsenal of the past and that they must be the result of political and social innovation and creative politics based on a new hierarchy of values, then we encounter another dimension of the era, that of the predominant nature of science, to the degree in which the scientific-technical revolution represents a defining characteristic of our times.

This causes us to better understand why the basis or substantiation for these solutions cannot be acquired with old conceptual instruments nor consolidated with outdated or petrified theories. This is so because if it is profoundly true what Marx asked of philosophy - that is, not only to interpret the world, but also to



actively contribute to its transformation - it is no less true that in order to change the world in a truly desirable and profitable direction for mankind, we must first understand it and correctly interpret it, that is, adequately interpret it. And, precisely in this area, we see the necessary contribution of science and we must have the transforming vocation of a good ideology. If the content of the era shows both the growing role of ideology as well as the impetuous affirmation of the scientific-technical revolution as typical characteristics of our times, the great problem both at the national level and at the level of the international system is that of the fusion between science and ideology. We are not talking about any type of fusion, but rather one which will be achieved to the benefit of a better organization and leadership of society, of increasing the societal efficiency of all social-useful activities and of molding in the spirit of certain authentically humanist and democratic values for the contemporary international system.

### Ideology and Political Praxis

As is known, ideology plays a giant role in societies having antagonistic classes. In general, as Louis Althusser correctly noted, "ideology is necessary to any society in order to transform it and make it correspond to the exigencies of their conditions of existence."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, political domination cannot be conceived without its ideological component. For that reason, Marx and Engels still stressed in "German Ideology" that through ideology the class that is the dominating material force in society also becomes its dominating spiritual force precisely because it also has the means of spiritual production. Ideology can play this role both due to its structure and due to its particular functional nature. We could accept as a definition for ideology the one proposed by Nicolae Kallos and Calina Mare<sup>2</sup> in their work "Ideology and Science:" ideology represents a (relatively) systematized totality, (relatively) structured by ideas which, from a genetic (that is, of their origins) point of view and a functional (that is, of their social role) point of view, are tied to the interests, hopes and efforts of a social group (of a social class), ideas which present (reflect) reality and the relationships of people to reality on the basis of the social-historical experience of that group and from which, at the same time, flow certain norms for behavior and directives for action.

With one correction, however: ideologies, in our opinion, do not merely sublimate class interests, although these undoubtedly are a major component. In ideology there is also the concentrated expression of the community-ethnic, national or linguistic, religious and other interests which are not always completely reducible to class interests. In this regard, political ideology plays a special role: it gives theoretical and axiological substantiation to political power, elaborating its legitimate principles which give foundation to political obligation (that is, the duty of the citizens to submit to the directives and laws issued by the power) and establish the consensus of the governed. At the same time, political ideology constitutes a means of social control. Through this, there is a further expression of its consubstantiality with political power, itself being a form - naturally the most important one - of social control. In this aspect, the "fusion" of power and ideology is more accentuated and multi-form that we are able to see in a rigid, outdated "scheme" of relationships between the base and the superstructure.

In recent years, new categories have been introduced, for example, of a state ideological apparatus (Louis Althusser) through which the dominating ideology works in society in the interest of the ruling class, designating instances when it belongs either formally to the state or when it preserves a "private" legal status: the church, school, the official media apparatus (the press, radio, television), the cultural apparatus and so forth. It should not be forgotten that the dominant ideology intervenes in the organization of those apparatuses which have the main job of "exercising legitimate physical violence" (the army, the police, the justice-prison system, the administration).

It is essential to understand that ideology is not just a system of ideas or representations, but also deals with a series of material practices, extending to customs and lifestyles and establishing itself as a type of binder in the overall group of social practices. To ignore, for example, the ideological effects of certain economic practices, especially under the conditions of contemporary capitalism, and of certain social policies means to restrict in a damaging way the possibilities for understanding and showing the mechanisms of domination specific to this type of society. In opposition to the inconsistent and outdated doctrine of discounting ideology, today it is recognized more and more that there is a growing impact of ideology in social and political affairs, that ideology covers all social areas and that it has a very special propensity towards social praxis. Furthermore, this propensity towards practice - implicated even in the view of those who created the term ideology within the framework of the rationalist-illuminist concept of the 18th century - was particularly stressed in the tradition of Romanian philosophical and sociological thought. A.D. Xenopol, for example, emphasized that political ideas are "stimulated by deeds. This is so since politics moved along the path of power in the leadership of the people and, therefore, cannot be conceived of without combining it with the means of achieving power - that is, with deeds."<sup>3</sup> And, D. Gusti noted that "political doctrine always has the desire to be carried out" and that it "indicates and involves a certain practical attitude."<sup>4</sup>

Certainly, contemporary ideology's propensity towards practice and, especially, its possibilities for increased efficiency are also facilitated by the contribution of certain somewhat more "technical" factors: on the one hand, ideology's and political doctrines' growing ability to persuade in the wake of the "fusion" that is very often achieved with the social sciences, from which it borrows ideas, means of substantiation and particularly techniques to spread and penetrate; on the other hand, due to the astonishing technical innovations in the field of mass communication (the press, books, radio, television and education) there has been a considerable expansion and timely spread of doctrines and ideologies, as well as the opportunities to direct political information. Certainly, such elements impose the need for certain additional actions, compared to the past, in order to combat and counteract false, dangerous and poisonous ideologies.

In socialism, the role of ideology has certain particular features. First of all, we are speaking of the fact that the socialist revolution, as an act of giving birth to a new system, is achieved as a materialization of a theoretical-ideological project forged on the basis of developing and applying the theory

of scientific socialism. The entire revolutionary process of creating a new society presupposes the need to actively and creatively elaborate a revolutionary ideology in such a way that in each stage of the revolution Marxist ideology will efficiently serve as "guide in action" (Friedrich Engels).

We know of the continuing concern of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the development of revolutionary ideology in the most authentic creative spirit in such a way that it can provide true answers to the complex problems presented by, on one hand, the improvement of the socialist structure in our own country and, on the other hand, the resolution of problems linked to the restructuring of the contemporary international system and the establishment of a new world economic and political system.

#### Political Culture - A Priority Field of Theoretical-Ideological Practice

A natural requirement of the historic process of building the new system is the restructuring of the spiritual profile of society and the individual through the creation of a new culture and, within this framework, a new political culture centered around the fundamental values of socialism and guided by the theoretical principles of creative Marxism.

The concept of political culture is a relatively recent acquisition, although the term as such has been long used; V. I. Lenin used it in 1920. Its conceptual elaboration, however, took place only during the post-war years. Precisely for that reason there still are differences of opinion both with regards to the content of the concept and with regards to its significance. This is not an exception; there are older and better established concepts that are controversial. By having the theoretical-methodological and necessary ideological prudence whenever we are dealing with an idea elaborated outside of Marxism, we can appreciate nonetheless that this concept has proved useful and, therefore, legitimate in the field of science. For that reason, there is also justification for the research in some of the socialist countries regarding the new type of political culture. Furthermore, non-Marxist authors have also remarked that the socialist countries are the most appropriate ones to show the scientific relevance of this concept since these societies have proposed a radical break in the continuity of political institutions and, at the same time, have achieved an unusually open and conscious attempt to create new political values and to replace the old ones.

And, in our opinion, this concept - broken away from the ideological remains of bourgeois creations - is the one most capable of showing overall for Romanian society the intimate correlation between cultural and political attitudes, between knowledge and evaluation, between knowledge and political conviction, and between the contradictory unity of the levels of political consciousness and, especially, the dialectic relationship between national cultural-historical tradition and class ideology, that has become the dominant ideology of our entire society.

In order to better understand how this new concept has been established in the field of political science, it would be useful to state that it was set forth by the North American politologist Gabriel Almond in 1956. The classical definition put forth by Almond and Sidney Verba in 1963 in a work that has become a

classic in the field<sup>5</sup> defines political culture through certain specifically political orientations, that is, certain attitudes with regards to the political system and its component variations and with regards to the role of the individual himself in the system. It is, therefore, a set of orientations with regards to a special set of social objects and processes, those which have a political nature. The political culture of a nation would be, as a result, the particular distribution of the types of orientations towards political objects among the members of the nation. And, in relationship to the internal structure we must note that one can distinguish cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations on the basis of known classifications in the sociology of knowledge.

The concept created by Gabriel Almond has influenced later elaborations in a nearly decisive manner, even when these were established as theoretical reactions to his concept. His work is visible in the politological works of a Marxist orientation. F. M. Burlatki defined political culture as "the level of knowledge and perceptions about power and politics held by different individuals as well as the level of their political activities as determined by the former."<sup>6</sup> And, the Polish politologist Jery Wiatr conceived it as "the totality of attitudes, values and types of behaviors existing in a given society with regards to the reciprocal relations between state power and the citizens"<sup>7</sup> and it included in this category the understanding of politics, the evaluation of political phenomena, the emotional aspect of political attitudes and the types of political behavior.

Thus, we could state that the term political culture is referring to the overall group of political knowledge, values and beliefs which serve as the basis of a political system or, in a somewhat more restrictive sense, to the political system as it has fixed in the conscious, attitudes and beliefs of the members of this system. Political culture would thus express the subjective dimensions of politics and the political system with the intention of unifying older concepts such as political ideology, national spirit and ethos, class and national political psychology, and the fundamental political values of a people. In this aspect, the concept is distinguished through an integral approach to the subjective dimension of the political phenomenon and, precisely for that reason, it is justified.

On the other hand, its legitimacy lies in the fact that it shows the particular nature of political culture as compared to other spheres and departments of culture, stressing in this regard the unique nature of the content of the political culture of each society. It accomplishes this not by breaking political culture away from the overall culture, but rather by filling an existing gap in the view of cultural anthropology of a functionalist orientation that does not give an independent place to political culture, ignoring the fact that it has particular defining characteristics and, at the same time, involves specific socializing processes which distinguish it from other facets of the cultural phenomenon.

Certainly, in the light of this definition the relationship between ideology - or more precisely political ideology - and political culture takes on major

significance. Undoubtedly, political ideology represents the systematized theoretical level - together with the political sciences - of political culture. Precisely for that reason, it also constitutes the spinal column of any political culture. Its theoretical, axiological and praxiological coordinates represent the lines of force of the political culture of any society. The ideological content is the one that provides the specific filter that affects the people's political perceptions, keeping in mind that the situations and processes in the social environment are given awareness through the components of culture.

In connection with this, there appears a conceptual problem having broad implications. The definition given by Almond and Verba limits political culture to certain political orientations and to attitudes regarding the political system and its various components and attitudes towards the role of the individual himself in the system. It can be seen that this is the dominant trend, although some researchers are in favor of including political behavior in the content of the concept of political culture. The above-mentioned Marxist authors share this opinion without, however, justifying it, as can be seen from the definitions that were quoted.

In our opinion, if we were not to include political behavior in political culture, we would be incorrect, bringing about dangerous methodological and ideological consequences on a number of planes. First of all, we would thus give up to concepts which break culture away from the real behavior of people, the concept about life from the manner of life, and culture from civilization. Second, a divorce between individual political behavior and political culture could be pictured in this situation not only as an exception, but also as a rule. Third, from the point of view of research itself it is nearly impossible to detach or to see political culture separate from its actual expression or from real behavior within the framework of the political system. In this regard, the definition of political culture as a basis of the political system in the awareness of its members and the attitude which it expresses becomes intelligible. Finally, such a position would make it considerably difficult and alter the understanding of the relationship between political culture and political science. With the style being the means of thought and action at the same time, it is natural for it to express precisely the unity between these two in its actual expression. There then arises a definitional and typological consequence: the basic rejection of a definition like the one promoted in Western literature whereby political style appears as something deviant with regards to political culture. Certainly, the inclusion of political behavior in political culture does not mean the transformation of political culture into an explicative independent variable or the causal factor of political behavior. On the contrary, we feel that it better expresses the solidarity of certain phenomena that are determined to an equal degree - in the final analysis - by common factors within the framework of which one can note: the social structure, national historical experience and the process of political socialization which pursues the inculcation of the intellectual, affective and volitional elements of political culture so as to bring about a certain political behavior.

Nonetheless, what characterizes the approach to political culture in Western politology is the trend towards forced generalization and a lack of consideration

for the qualitative specific nature of specific expressions of political culture in societies of different types. One trend with an obvious ideological content is, for example, the statement encountered in the majority of Western authors regarding the existence in any political system of a distinction - yes, sometimes even a fundamentally qualitative opposition - within the framework of political culture between subculture of the elites and those who hold power, and the political subculture of the masses.

In the political system in our country, as a result of the growing social homogenization and the general accessibility to education and culture, as well as of the broad process of cultural instruction and political education, such a fundamental cleavage that is characteristic of those societies having antagonistic classes, no longer exists. Certainly, at the current stage one could speak of differences in the degree of political culture, which could be recorded on a scale of intensity and effectiveness, as well as of some differences of content for groups and individuals, which at no time take on the dimensions of a cleavage.

The aforementioned attitude of Western politologists also explains the favored orientation towards the study of the political culture of the elites and, correspondingly, the near limitation of investigation into political style to just this area. As far as we are concerned, we reject the concept which gives a derisive or even pejorative meaning to mass political culture. By the way, a revealing example of this is the one by Feliks Gross who maintains that since culture is exclusively the business of the creative elites, the term culture of the masses is a contradiction in terms. In this regard, Antonio Gramsci was completely correct when, in criticizing elitist culture, he stressed: "Creating a new culture does not mean merely individually making original discoveries, but rather, at the same time, it especially means critically spreading known truths, socializing them and, through this, causing them to become a basis for vital actions and an element for intellectual and moral coordination and order."<sup>8</sup>

In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept about socialist cultural creation for the new type of society existing in our country is completely revealing, as can be seen in the multipurpose dimensions of the "Song of Romania" National Festival. The homogenization of political culture in Romanian society is expressed in its unity of content and as a political-ideological unity of the people, an important motive force of our nation. The bringing together of objective factors in the revolutionary process over 4 decades, the intensity and scope of the work in education and instruction, the importance given to satisfying the requirements of political socialization - all of these resulted (especially after the Ninth Congress) in the creation of a new, socialist man without the existence of whom a socialist society in the current stage of development could not be conceived. "We can proudly state," emphasized comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his report to the 12th Party Congress, "that in socialist Romania a new man is being created who is profoundly devoted to the ideals of socialism and communism, one armed with the newest advances in knowledge and with the revolutionary, scientific ideology of our party." Through its contents, this multidimensional process contains, without a doubt,



the creation, dissemination and mastery of a socialist political culture under the methodical and consistent work of the Romanian Communist Party and through the intermediary of the specialized, state and public organisms which carry out their activities under the leadership of the party. It is a political culture of the party and the people in their indissoluble cooperation and unity.

In this context, we cannot lose sight of a distortion which appears sufficiently often in Western works dedicated to the political culture in the socialist countries. It has to do with the forced differentiation of two political cultures which would place the ideal citizen in opposition to the real citizen. The first would be represented by the long-term aspirations and the expectations grouped in the idea of new-socialist-man, and the second would be composed of the operational code of a hierarchical political power. Certainly, the level of political culture, as well as culture in general, is part of the sphere of values and there is hardly need for us to state that in the axiological sense of the term any value also contains an ideal moment, revealing the idea of its perfectibility. In general, values must be conceived and understood in the processuality of their dialectic changes both on the plane of the real and on that of the ideal. The existence of this ideal moment which directs the process of political socialization and education does not, however, justify the maintenance of these "discrepancies" or "opposition" between two political cultures.

Certainly, the correlation between revolutionary scientific ideology and socialist political culture explains to us the priority nature of political culture within the framework of the general process of cultural policy and requires, at the same time, the linking of the concept of political culture to that of political socialization. Actually, the term socialization involves the transformation of man, the individual into an active factor of the societal system, one capable of fulfilling the role society expects of him in the different areas of social affairs. Correspondingly, political socialization is therefore a component of the general process of socialization which involves two meanings: a restricted meaning through which we understand the deliberate inculcation of political information, values and practices by instructional-educational agents who are formally tasked with this responsibility, and the preparation of citizens to meet the requirements of their different roles in the political system; in a broader sense, political socialization involves all political instruction, formal and informal, deliberate or not, that is accomplished at any age, including not only explicitly political instruction and education, but also nominally nonpolitical instruction, that is, general cultural education which affects political behavior. Keeping in mind that political actions are determined and guided both by objective factors and by the social-economic and political structure, as well as by subjective factors such as biases acquired during previous experiences or political purposes, expectations from the political system, concepts about the legitimacy of political persons and institutions, orientations regarding authority and so forth, political socialization is of decisive importance for any political system.

From this point of view, political culture could also be separated into a restricted meaning and a broader one. This disjunction helps us to have a more complete understanding of the points of cultural policy and, in general, of the processes of instruction and education. Thus, political culture in a restricted sense would be the overall grouping of knowledge, values and beliefs which directly have a political nature, which are political by virtue of their very nature and which have political ideology as their fundamental axis. In a broader sense, we are talking about the overall grouping of cultural values which have political relevancy and which can contribute to the modeling of certain adequate political behaviors in the spirit of the fundamental values of society.

In this view, it is necessary to make the statement that for our socialist society there is a unity of content of political culture with overall culture since all of culture is based on these ideological values. Therefore, the revolutionary ideology of creative Marxism represents the binder which unifies the entire culture of our society into one common body. We are especially referring to the philosophical concept of dialectic and historic materialism, to the theory of scientific socialism and to the moral values promoted in the code of socialist ethics and equality, in other words, to the overall group of values which define our culture as a socialist culture.

#### Political Culture and Socialist Political Development

Precisely through this agreement and through this unity between the values of political culture themselves and the values of culture overall, we see also the achievement of symbiosis in the practical-educational process between political socialization in a restricted sense and political socialization in a broader one. Therefore, there exists on one hand a content, a vocation of our socialist culture to contribute to the substantiation and enrichment of political concepts, to political awareness and to overall political culture, just as there exists a vocation of socialist political culture to stimulate the development of overall culture and to furnish it with axiological criteria and ideological points in its existence and development. That is why work to broaden the cultural-scientific horizon and political-educational activities in all their complexity represents a unified process guided by the same ideology of scientific socialism and creative Marxism. This is an ideology which stands at the base of all political thought and practices of the Romanian Communist Party and a unity which is expressed, furthermore, in the objectives of overall political culture and in the strategy of political-educational work. The correlation between political culture and political socialization is capable of explaining to us the necessity for the priority nature of political culture in overall cultural policy and in the process of creating and developing socialist social awareness.

As has been noted, if in correlating political culture with overall culture we realize the profound significance and overwhelming importance of political culture in culture overall, it is revealing to see the basic importance of political culture in the affairs of our society in the relationships that are established between political culture on one hand and political development on the other.



Under the conditions of our socialist society, it is known that the overall political system has an essential role. The political system does not develop passively, mechanically or mimetically recording the changes in social structures. It expresses itself as an active factor through its leading element, the communist party, as the author of the revolutionary theoretic draft whereby it also carries out the development of all of society. And, in carrying out the revolutionary objectives during each stage of the rising development of our society it depends upon the capacity of the political system to mobilize the masses in the achievement of this draft-directive.

Similarly, we must note the fact that the political system, as a systemic factor for the entire social organism, especially takes on multiple values in a higher stage of the development of socialist society, as is the current stage. For the current stage - as the secretary general of the party stressed at the Mangalia Conference - when we find ourselves in a higher stage of socialist construction, where we have to resolve decisive problems for the destiny of our socialist country, it is necessary for political activity, the party's activities and the activities of the entire political system and, through it, the masses to take on qualitatively superior dimensions. In fulfilling - as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out - the vital central role for the entire nation, the party ensures the harmonious operation of all sectors of activity. If in one sector, no matter how small or how distant, a defect appears, this is reflected upon the entire social organism. This fact reveals precisely the role of the systemic factor of the socialist political system, led by the communist party.

Furthermore, the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society is not an arbitrary option and even less a circumstantial one. It involves bringing to light the idea that development is not unilateral, but rather involves all the regions of social affairs. And, it also begins with a profound scientific idea, as especially shown by the systematic analysis of social affairs: that the different subsystems of social affairs do not have the same rate of development or the same rhythms. On one hand, we still have elements inherited from the old system in which some sectors of social affairs were completely underdeveloped. But, not only is this inheritance a determining factor in this process, but there is also the fact that each subsystem in the social system has its own historic time. The role of the political factor is exactly that of harmonizing these rates of the subsystems into an organic, concerted and harmonious development. Precisely for that reason we named the political system the systemic factor for the entire social system. A political system succeeds in achieving this task when the values which inspired it and when the norms it dictates are ever more organically assimilated by its members; in other words, when the values and norms that this inspires become an effective part of political awareness and the political culture and when this is ever more actively assimilated.

For that reason, there is a correlation between the development of the political system, its capabilities and performance, and the development and organic nature of political culture in its position as a generalized civic culture. This is even more true in the current and for the future stages of social-economic development where the raising of political awareness or the political culture of the masses and all citizens represents a decisive condition for the continued strengthening and improvement of all of society.

The program of measures drawn up by the party in the field of ideological, political and cultural-educational work has, as is known, as its principal purpose the intensification of activities to develop socialist awareness in the creation of the new man and in the stimulation of the creative participation of all workers, regardless of nationality, in ideological, political and cultural affairs for the creation of a multilaterally developed socialist society. At the same time, this program pursues a better cooperation, a unified action as the meaning and content of all the factors or agents of political socialization: the party, the state, cultural-educational institutions, mass organizations and public organizations, the school and the family, ensuring the leadership by the party over the entire process. All of these are included on the plane of the political system, beginning with the fact that in the current stage a decisive factor is the quality of the responsible and effective participation of the citizens in fulfilling the established objectives in the spirit of socialist values and norms, with each citizen bringing together his professional and technical competence at the highest possible level with civic awareness.

As noted in the Party Program, our political system, as the system of socialist democracy, will be developed to the degree of raising the level of the workers' training and competence, of broadening the horizon of knowledge and increasing their ideological and political level. This means that the development of political culture, on one hand, and the development of the political system, on the other hand, are not parallel processes, but rather consubstantial and interdependent and, as a result, their improvement must have a unified nature. Their consubstantiality and unity are expressed, in the final analysis, in their converging finality, that is, in ensuring the rapid, multilateral and harmonious development of the entire social structure in all its facets and components, as well as of the personality of the new, socialist man.

In this context, we also stressed the special place of political awareness in the social consciousness, which becomes clear through the capacity which it gives the individual to conceive and thus achieve his specific work so that this will be continuously corroborated with the general tasks and objectives of the development of all of society. This causes to exist an active relationship between the development of political culture, political awareness and the improvement of all the useful social activities of all the citizens, its orientation in the spirit of the authentic values of socialism and the growth of the parameters of the social and axiological efficiency of these activities.

#### Political Culture and Socialist Political Style

Our party has oriented the process of political development beginning, on one hand, with the fact that institutional and organizational forms should not be established with exaggerated reverence, but rather they must be continuously improved, amended and sometimes even changed in accordance with the specific requirements of one stage or another; on the other hand, beginning with the truth that the democratic and humanist principles which govern the creation of different institution structures become effective and efficient to the degree in which these structures consistently promote a style of work and methods that is adequate to these principles.

Regardless of its nature, an institution is, at least up to a point, a formal framework and as such expresses a type of relative independence with regards to the content which it is achieving. This is the source of the idea that institutions and organizations are, certainly, important as essential means in the achievement of an objective, but they are not everything. Especially important are the nature and meaning of this activity that is carried out because precisely this activity of the people and the persons charged with the responsibilities at different levels represents the living content of any social structure, any political institution and organization. In the absence of an adequate work style and certain methods corresponding to the proposed goal, the improvement of structures is exposed to vitiations through formalisms and, in the end, to inefficiencies. In other words, institutions then no longer serve the values in the name in which they were created. And, this brings to light the need to have a positive correlation of political culture with the socialist political style.

Certainly, this correlation leads towards a more encompassing view which firmly places us in the realm of values. Through the intermediary of political culture, political style becomes a component of socialist culture and a defining dimension of socialist political praxis. Thus, this brings to light the fact that style involves not only formal aspects involving the means of expression, but also axiological orientations of content, with it expressing the matrices of a culture as they are achieved in social practice.

The lines of development established by the documents of our party and by the Draft Directives of the 13th RCP Congress are not limited merely to material conditions, but also involve cultural, political, civic and moral dimensions, and because democracy is not just a form of government but also a materialized option in a certain style of life. In light of these considerations, the above-mentioned correlation between the development of socialist democracy, on one hand, and the improvement of political culture or the raising of the level of overall political awareness on the other hand, becomes even more legitimate in a broader substantiation.

Thus, it is completely natural for the main characteristics of socialist political culture in the current stage of development of Romanian society to be converted into the particular nature of socialist political style. At the risk of repeating ourselves, let us state that to the degree in which political culture, in its function of internalizing the real political system, no longer conceives of an opposition between governors and the governed, the leaders and those led, the socialist political style characterizes the political action of all of the participants in the political processes, with it not being possible to speak - due to<sup>u</sup>an identity of values which direct it - of any opposition between the political styles of different categories of individual or collective political agents.<sup>9</sup>

With socialist political culture being based on the values of democracy and workers self-management, socialist political style is by excellence participative. This is even more so since in our society objective and subjective conditions are fulfilled which guarantee the universality and social efficiency of democratic

participation. Precisely for that reason, the growing and effective participation of workers in the management of political affairs constitutes the lines of force of the evolution of our political system.

In this context, a cardinal problem is that of having an adequate style in political culture in both a theoretic context and a practical context. This was especially strongly expressed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: "Party education will give more attention to improving the methods and style of work and to raising the revolutionary spirit of communists in all fields and at all levels." This directive has a special theoretical and practical value from a number of points of view. First, it explicitly correlates the problem of style with the revolutionary spirit, which expresses the quintessence of the political culture promoted by our party. Second, it includes the problem of style in the direct activities of party education, considering its improvement as one of its essential objectives. And, as is known, party education is a decisive channel for dissemination and a decisive factor for modeling socialist political culture. At the same time, the problem of political style is an essential aspect and a major component in taking on a new quality both in political-organizational and cadre work, and in ideological, political and education work. The secretary general of the party stressed in his report to the 12th Congress: "We must achieve a new quality in the organization and leadership of political-educational work, in the ideological training of communists and the popular masses, and in the explanation and understanding of the trends and meanings of economic-social development and the profound revolutionary transformations that are taking place in our country and the entire world."

#### Socialist Political Style and Scientific Leadership

In the contemporary ideological confrontations, we frequently see "opposition" invoked between the democratic participation of the masses in the political process, on one hand, and the exigencies of scientific leadership in the complex societies of our times, on the other hand. Furthermore, it is known that this "opposition" constitutes the grounds upon which an entire vision has built constructed regarding the future of politics and overall human society within the framework of technocracy, a vision which postulates an "incompatibility" of essence between democracy, on one hand, and scientific leadership on the other hand. Certainly, in those societies founded on private ownership of the means of production where economic privileges are implicitly transformed into privileges for instruction and education, they represent a barrier to the masses' ever broader access the political process. On the other hand, it must be recognized that the old argument of the partisans of democratic government, especially as it appeared to Machiavelli and Jean-Jacques Rousseau who felt that democracy was desirable because it is presumed that the people would not make political decisions that were disadvantageous to it, can no longer be supported as such. The governing of contemporary society has become an especially complex business which requires scientific training and, at the same time, a political, axiological orientation, keeping in mind that any political system represents the expression of certain axiologically motivated options.

In this problem, a cardinal one for our epoch, our party has placed itself on an original and creative position: it has rejected the idea of opposition between democracy and the scientific leadership of society, stressing the possibility of their fusion under the conditions of a socialist society. And, at the same time, it has pointed out that this is not achieved by itself automatically, but rather there is need for efforts to have a theoretical elaboration and practical political actions in order to achieve this and, implicitly, in order to bring about the potential of superiority that socialism has in this area.

Our party has shown the fact that democratic governing based on the broad and effective participation of the masses and leadership based on science can be achieved on the basis of the process of continuing to raise the horizons of general, scientific and professional-technical culture and the political culture of the masses and, at the same time, on the basis of creating certain such institutional mechanisms that will favor the broad and direct access of the masses to the decisionmaking factors. In this way, there is special significance that is truly revolutionary in the generalization of the principle of collective work and leadership in all the spheres of social affairs and at all levels of Romanian society, a principle which combines the possibility of effectively involving the scientific-technical, organizational, economic, cultural and other types of competency, as well as the better use of the creative energies and abilities of the broad popular masses within the framework of a unique process of scientific leadership of society under the leadership of the communist party. This principle combines the scientization of political decisions and the infusion of scientific rigour with democratic methods and mechanisms. As is stressed in our party's Program, "the principles of scientific leadership of socialist society take into account the nature of the new system, the need to ensure the participation of all categories of workers in the management of economic-social affairs, the requirement to develop and further socialist democracy and the fundamental goals of socialism and communism."

In this manner, our socialist society provides a free field for the expression of a historic law which Marx called "the political soul" of the revolution, which "lies in the trend of those classes lacking political influence to eliminate their isolation from the affairs and leadership of the state."<sup>10</sup> And, at the same time, a broad field of action is created by the growing satisfaction of the exigencies which the impetuous affirmation of the scientific-technical revolution is placing before the political leadership process of contemporary society and, especially, before a socialist society whose development is noted by way of its conscious nature. It is especially significant that in our party's documents there is an ever greater stress on the role of science in improving the management of society, in having a more efficient orientation of social practices and in more courageously and adequately establishing the horizons of evolution of our socialist society. "Research in the field of social and economic sciences must make its proposals - in relation to the changes and transformations that are taking place in the area of the forces of production and social relations - so that new scientific discoveries will conceive and foresee new directions for the development of society. Only in this way will science be able to become a material force and an important factor in the conscious transformation of society," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

# FOOTNOTES

1. Louis Althusser, "Quoting Marx," Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1970, p 62.
2. Nicolae Kallas, Calina Mare, "Ideologie si stiinta" [Ideology and Science], Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1972, p 22.
3. A. D. Xenopol, "Istoria partidelor politice in Romania" [The History of Political Parties in Romania], 1910, I, p V.
4. D. Gusti, "Sociologia militans," I, 1935, p 100.
5. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, "Civic Culture," Boston, 1963, p 12 and later.
6. F. M. Burlatki, "Lenin. Gosudarstvo. Politika," Moscow, "Nauka," 1970, p 55.
7. Jerzy Wiatr, "Spoleczenstwo," Warsaw, 1973, p 367.
8. Antonio Gramsci, "Opere alese" [Selected Works], Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969, p 23.
9. We stress this fact because too often there has been in both literature and in our specialized courses a "localization" of the problem of the state in the sphere of relationships between the leaders and those being led. This facilitates, without a doubt, removing the ideological factor from the problem (feeling that these relationships are merely a "technical fact," that is, an expression and a manifestation of the social division of labor) and having a slide towards an elitist view. This is so because, in speaking solely of the style of leadership, the concerns are inevitable placed on the leaders (and when the style of work is discussed it is only the style of work of the leaders). Taking on such an interpretation, we think, ignores the powerful ideological implications of such an attempt as this.
10. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Opere" [Works], Vol I, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1960, p 445.

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CSO: 2700/92

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

AL-QADHDHAFI ON CEAUSESCU BIRTHDAY--To His Excellency, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania. I take this opportunity of your birthday to extend to you, dear friend, warmest greetings and best wishes for much health and happiness to you and to your family. Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Great Revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Feb 85 p 5 AU]

WEATHER HAMPERS TRAFFIC--Bucharest AGERPRES 12/2/1985--A new cold wave and snowfalls hit Romania particularly in the north-western and the southern areas. Snow drifts built by blizzards make traffic difficult along some national roads in Moldova and the south-eastern zone. Mechanical equipment is used to remove the snow. Delays occur in the railway traffic. Snowstorms caused some domestic flights to be temporarily suspended. Adverse weather makes activities proceed with difficulty in the harbours of Galati, Braila and Constanta. Very cold weather is expected for the ensuing two days, temperatures varying between minus 15 centigrades and minus 25 centigrades. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1654 GMT 12 Feb 85 AU]

ADVERSE WEATHER DISRUPTS TRAFFIC--Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/22/1985--Heavy snowfalls on Saturday and snowstorms in some zones in Romania have disrupted the road traffic on certain national roads. Because of snow avalanches in the Olt Strait, the traffic is blocked on the national road which traverses this region. Due to the thick snowbed and narrowed roads, traffic is slow, with speed restrictions, on certain sections on the roads in Northern Moldova and Northern Debrokea, in South-Eastern and Southern Muntenia, as well as south of Craiova towards the Danube. As for railway traffic it proceeds normally. The Bucharest and all the airports of the country are also functioning. River traffic from Buzias to Braila is interrupted, and traffic on the Danube is slow because of the expense of icepacks. In the Braila, Galati and Tulcea river ports activities have slowed down because of ice and low temperatures. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1802 GMT 16 Feb 85 AU]

CSO: 2700/105

YUGOSLAVIA

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN KOSOVSKA KAMENICA

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 85 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] A general party debate on the situation in the LC in Kosovska Kamenica Opstina has brought to light numerous inconsistencies...and negligence in all areas and levels of sociopolitical organizations and work organizations. Losses in the economy amounted to 20.5 billion dinars last year. The "Karacevo" work organization alone, for instance, had losses of about 850 million dinars. There were also work stoppages in this organization, as well as in the "Trajko Peric" work organization, because of poor work organization. Bureaucracy, obstinacy, irresponsibility, the closing off within one's own sphere, and various nationalist phenomena are seriously slowing socialist self-management development, it was said at a meeting of the opstina LC on 28 January which was attended by Svetislav Dolasevic, president of the Kosovo LC Committee.

There have been a considerable number of cases where individuals or groups have enriched themselves at the expense of the working class. Installed capacities are not being used as planned. There is waste in all organizations of associated labor in the opstina, nor is the situation any better outside the economy. Neither self-management workers controls or internal controls are functioning. The opstina inspectorate has failed in its work of discovering and preventing anomalies in commerce. All of this has contributed to a sense of dissatisfaction among the working people and citizens and added to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this area. In the last 10 years over 4,700 citizens have left this opstina; in the first 11 months of last year 290 Serbs left.

Severe criticism was directed to the Opstina Assembly, which in its plan on expropriating land included 200 hectares of land belonging to Serb and Montenegrin inhabitants. The Serb exodus was also affected by changes made in the school structure for which the opstina was even praised by the provincial SIZ (self-management interest community) for education; in this restructuring 14 departments of the school system in which instruction was given in Serbo-Croatian were eliminated.

The political-security situation has been especiajly burdened by attacks carried out by Albanian nationalists and irredentists. This opstina had the largest number of participants in the hostile demonstrations both in



1968 and in 1981. Young Albanian nationalists and irredentists continue to write slogans and distribute pamphlets, although to a lesser degree than previously. Last year a hostile group, the "Albanikos" was convicted; this was an armed group, and it carried out actions such as writing slogans on roads and other places. The core of this group was made up of teachers and students and their program of action was to create conditions so that Kosovo would be proclaimed a republic and then annexed to Albania. The hostile activity of this group has left its traces.

Some LC members, including activists, show a liberal attitude toward the families of convicted persons and at gatherings, such as weddings, etc, express congratulations to those who have returned from prison, and have concerned themselves with the welfare of their families during the period of imprisonment. An especially unfavorable situation exists in the Ogosta local community where a participant in the 1981 demonstrations was nominated as president of the youth organization, and on the [local] bus special attention is given to convicted persons.

At the "Karacevo" [Ceramic Industry] sticks and clubs were thrown into the grinders, and the well in the new factory was stopped up. Those responsible remain anonymous. Although the security organs are more effective and active now, they have still not found those responsible for injuring three young people from the village of Firiceje on 27 November 1984. Accountability was also demanded at the meeting from the opstina leadership regarding the expropriating of land in Orthodox cemeteries in [five] villages. Harsh measures were demanded against persons responsible for damaging graves and markers.

Dolasevic said the security and political situation was all right but warned against being satisfied, because the enemy continues to be active. Recently, the Orthodox and Islamic clergy have joined the nationalist "dance" and are establishing themselves as protectors of their people and are trying to show themselves as "powerful institutions which also have influence in politics."

CSO: 2800/212

YUGOSLAVIA

## OFFICIALS FOR, AGAINST CHANGES IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbocroatian 23 Nov 84 pp 13-15

[Article by Zoran Erak: "We and They Against Us"]

[Text] In discussions of possible changes in the political system disputes have been observed which, rightly or wrongly, are charging this question with needless tension that may lead to oversimplification of things not at all simple, for the sake of vague "benefits" or a sense of "peace in the family."

If it were to be possible on some occasion for our weekly television news commentaries (which are carried over the entire Serbo-Croatian speech area) to prepare a permanent team of announcers, regardless of the "variety" of the language that they speak, even without the credits shown at the beginning or end it would surely be possible to guess from the tenor of the information broadcast which station's turn it is this week. For example, one station will provoke "some" who want changes in the infamous foreign exchange law, while another will scrupulously give reasons on its program to "some people" why these changes are necessary. One station will claim that a centralizing unitarianist impetus is behind the demand for changes in the political system, while others will say that resisting the changes means trying to perpetuate the predominance of bureaucratic statist forces over the forces of self-management. One station will broadcast a "unanimous" assessment by "workers, communists, and citizens" (of the particular region, of course) on the harmfulness of a given work of art, while others, again citing "communists, workers, and citizens," clearly prove that there is none of that harmfulness in the work of art in question. We can cut the enumeration short, since all the cases would boil down to the following. The differences in interpretation of some of our situations evidently coincide with the borders of republics or provinces or with the range of our individual television centers (when we have already mentioned the small screen).

### Aggressive Differentiation

This finding could be supported by other examples, especially in the public information sphere, since the same thing is to be seen in ordinary comparison of articles in "our" newspapers and "theirs" and by comparing the statements made by "our" officials and "theirs."

One of the subjects dealt with the most widely in the arenas of dispute is the sphere of the political system. A great many volleys have been fired, not into the air but with the aim of hitting "someone," so that this cannot be classified as an ordinary prank by self-styled handlers of various weapons, but simply as a fact calling for serious analysis. If the available potentials unite thus on one line in one of our regions, if almost all scientific workers, political figures, journalists, and workers "play the same tune" in public statements, and in another region the same grouping plays a different tune (again in unison), an observer must ask himself what have we done to cause opinions to differ so sharply and conflict with each other, along the lines of "us" against "them"? What if in such a situation we continue to stick with the statements that, for instance, basic interests are unified throughout Yugoslavia? What if, at least, we do not ask the question of what these forces are which successfully articulate the "collective interests" only up to a certain level, say that of the republic or province, beyond which the solution is not applicable?

Regardless of the viewpoints that a debate should not be opened on the political system, such a debate has been opened. It has been finally opened by the fact that the work on analysis of operation of the political system (the federal social council for questions of social structure, in response to an initiative made at the end of 1982) is coming to an end and the results of this study will soon be published.

But then, although the debate is already in progress, the uninitiated would have to read through the hundreds and hundreds of newspaper articles to find their bearings even fairly well in the basic question: what is to be changed, who does not want it changed and why?

Let us begin with a quotation from the magazine OPSTINA, in which 25 well-known scientific and political figures were commissioned to expatiate on the "open questions of operation of the socialist self-management political system."

The following quotation is from the contribution by Dr Zdravko Tomac; it reads as follows: "The current political system as it has been operationalized and as it operates in practice has not satisfactorily defended and ensured realization of the basic self-management relationship, and consequently /should be changed/ (my emphasis--Z.E.) [text enclosed within slantlines printed in upper case] in order for it to defend and permit application of the fundamental provisions of the Constitution."

Even a slightly educated laymen can clearly see from this statement that a system which in practice is behindhand in application of the "fundamental provisions of the Constitution" is an icon which we dare not touch, since, if its practical "aspect" does not follow the line of implementing the Constitution, it is pointless to waste words about whether we should "change the system or make changes in the system." Although such a distinction at first appears to be crucial, in essence it does not preclude the possibility of more radical searches.

## Rhetorical Outsinging

But let us go back to Dr Tomac. Somewhat later (after the appendix appeared in the OPSTINA) he was informed by a BORBA journalist that the latter "was gaining the impression that the average citizen was getting the idea that the continuity of our revolution and the principles of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia] are being threatened" and asked him to comment on the statements attributed to him to the effect that "self-management is the main culprit responsible for our current difficulties."

Considering that many assessments (including ones of this kind) are made "summarily" in our country, and that they are the result of defeatism and disbelief in the possibility of emerging from the crisis, Dr Tomac stated that in this "entire flood of criticisms and disbelief no one bases himself on serious scientific analyses of the search for the causes of this situation but resorts to petty carping, demagoguery, and vicious attacks."

Bosko Krunic is said recently to have pointed out that there are people whose offices and home districts are very close to them and with this remark to have commented on the theses regarding the need for changes in the political system, and in this context or in this connection on unspecified situations relating to relationships inside Serbia. It is not difficult to guess whose side these close offices and home districts are on.

Since it is said with increasing frequency that the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program is not being carried out to the extent or at the pace that are needed, and that there are by now clearly differentiated opinions, some for and some against this document (or at least for minimizing its determinations and solutions), Dr Suvar's words to the effect that this program is merely a "firefighting document" caused something of a sensation. (Of course, Belgrade television could not resist the temptation to reject this position sharply in "its own" weekly program.) Nor did Suvar's statement, made on a Zagreb news broadcast (for the entire Yugoslav network) help to separate the "fire extinguishing nature" of the long-term program from the overall considerations of some of our current situations, except to the extent that Suvar stated that "there are some persons" who would like to have this program replace both the Constitution and the Associated Labor Law, but he did not identify "these persons."

## Quarrelsome Books

Otherwise, at a time when the 40th year since the second session of AVNOJ is coming to an end, discussions of all kinds about the fact that "some persons" are calling for revision of the principles established at that session are in vogue. Such a statement becomes especially delightful wherever it is necessary to discuss possible changes in the economic as well as in the political system. The statement that really strong forces jeopardizing the Avnoj principles is far from sensible, although a certain amount of caution must be exercised toward such tendencies.

In connection with the well-known book SYSTEM AND CRISIS by Dr Jovan Miric, at a meeting revolving around discussion of the effects of publishing parts of

this book (we will not give the name of this group, for the simple reason that its organizers decided to release only a terse statement and not to divulge the content of the discussion conducted, but even this is an illustration of a sort), one "delegate" said literally that working people are agitated, upset," and another (who is a member of one of our ethnic groups) that his family is almost fearful of an uprising in this country. Such is one book which Dr Fuad Muhic analyzes with unusual reasonableness in SVIJET (and makes comments on which, of course, are to be discussed afterward calmly and with dignity), and becomes a "quarrelsome book". At any rate, this is the term we like to use when we have no other arguments to prove that a work (we are speaking of a scientific one) attempts to encroach on relationships cemented "among us."

### Brotherly Squabbles

But these alleged quarrels are also reflected in current political life, of course. Dusan Popovic, for example, thinks that "there is gradually developing in our society an awareness that we must 'squabble' among ourselves. There are some who want to carry out a particular party policy and some who do not want to."

Since a "squabble" is possible only between persons holding different political ideological positions, nothing is left but sharp and merciless differentiation, especially with persons who threaten the basic determinations of this society.

In an interview with representatives of the Novi Sad NOVKABEL, Sinan Hasani said "In all the very harsh criticism made in connection with many topics, I have not heard a single example of a person's questioning the general course of development of self-managed socialist, unaligned Yugoslavia. However, the discussion is also simple in that we boldly and decisively reject everything that hampers realization of established policy, regardless of whether the questions are in the area of economics, culture, or institutional solutions."

At a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists in Split, Sergej Krajger, speaking of the sociopolitical system in relation to the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, among other things said the following: "Proposals and solutions which allow the possibility of jeopardizing the position and functions of the sociopolitical collectives as set forth in the Constitution and the Associated Labor Law, as regards their responsibility for their own development and the development of Yugoslavia as a whole, and also as regards the place and function of the national economies in the unified region and market, which are different from and broader than those stipulated in the long-term program, of necessity introduce confusion and difficulties in coordinating approaches to implementing the program, and also in establishing specific program tasks."

At a recent plenary session of the Province Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, Bosko Krunic advocated formulating questions as specifically as possible, inasmuch as we must reject the "a priori approach to a problem with the attitude that 'the system must be changed'," since this would be "very harmful."

However, Radisa Gacic writes in KOMUNIST that "Until about 2 years ago no one dared bring up the subject of change in the political system at a party meeting. We now objectively have a situation where everyone sees that changes must be made. To me, though, this situation is somewhat more complex than are changes in the economic system. As regards the political system there are demands, but apparently also different opinions, regarding what should be changed at the level of Yugoslavia as a whole. In this connection the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has the responsible task of making certain that these differences in approach, views, and demands lead to unified determination of what we must change during this stage of development of the political system. In my opinion, the League must function as an authoritative, unified, legal leadership rather than as a collection of 8 working groups, of one representative or another, a leadership which will reach mutual agreement on how to bring about changes, and on how many changes to make. In this respect we have explicit demands from our membership. The central committee must not turn a deaf ear to them."

It remains to be seen how things will develop further in a situation in which "some see" and "others do not see."

#### Fear of Everything

However, even now it is obvious that two mutually opposing viewpoints have become polarized. One of them is fed by some sort of fear of a new centralism or unitarianism which could supposedly be promoted by the assumed changes, and the other, which in supporting closer association inside Yugoslavia (at all levels), in reality wants to remove the obstacles to reaching this goal, which is perceived to lie in increasing nationalization of social, political, and economic relationships at the levels which split the country apart. The interesting thing about this situation is that holders of both viewpoints ascribe their wishes or fears to concern for making the self-management system an even stronger integrating factor in this arena.

Mitja Ribicic, at a recent meeting of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, said outright that in the current political situation further development of the political system is one of the central questions, and not just for the leadership of Yugoslavia, for this particular forum, and he asked, "Do we want to be cadres capable of developing this system of ours; do we want to open up fresh prospects for further development?" In answering his own question, he concluded that some times "in the name of the heritage and system of socialist self-management we defend the existing situation and poor practices. In doing so we in effect expose ourselves to the danger of defending what should not be defended and of making it impossible to eliminate the bottlenecks in our political system. Through the concurrence of circumstances, since everyone criticizes everyone else, statism is spared."

Ribicic then advanced the opinion that we lack Kardelj's courage to resolve vague points, to propose changes that will permit more efficient operation of the system in favor of self-management. Ribicic's next idea caused quite a few comments, but most of them were couched in Aesopian terms. This idea was

that "we must extricate ourselves from the individual compromises which we entered into 10 years ago. While at that time circumstances forced them on us, now they may be a hindrance to us. We must see this and evaluate it. We must proceed more boldly in developing our system."

Of course, it is not just as a result of Ribicic's statements but as a result of other similar opinions as well that the excited opinion has been circulating that "someone" wants to change the Constitution and that a priori opposition leads to proliferation of the discussions now in progress. The label which is usually affixed is the one which disqualifies individual opinions as opinions which strike at the foundations of the system. At the meeting in question, Milan Rakas even said that the person who wants to defend the Yugoslav federation still has not been given his due and that "the others" are being given more and more space in the information media. In a sense he intended "others" to include those who discuss in public whether or not there are the features of a confederation in our federal system.

#### Developed--Undeveloped

There is no doubt whatever that the serious statements which we have had occasion to hear "in great numbers" in recent days and months truly display a constructive critical spirit, and it is difficult to escape the impression that some of the charges of so-called ulterior motives on the part of advocates of changing (improving, expanding) the political system in reality want to cement the situation. What is to be analyzed is the extent to which practice based on the existing institutional solutions acted, if it did so at all, to bring about the crisis in which we find ourselves (this will also be established by the anticipated analysis), but it is abundantly clear that sticking with the stabilization program (regardless of how much it is a "fire-fighting" program, if indeed it is such) is not the consequence exclusively of our proverbial inefficiency in carrying out agreed upon obstruction, but even in executing deliberate obstruction.

This infamous foreign exchange law over which lances are being broken has, whether we want it or not, divided us into two sharply opposing camps. Some persons attack it sharply, saying that it favors the more developed parts of the country, while others hold that these areas are thwarting development.

Since the developed-undeveloped relationship is a broader international problem, and our positions as unaligned countries quite clearly favor the undeveloped ones, in that assistance is given to them in closing this gap, it is, to say the least, strange that some people advocate other principles or solutions which should be applied to this subject under our conditions. Similarly, it is, to say the least, strange when a highly placed official (in a developed part of the country) advances in public the thesis that the developed areas should develop even further in order to carry the undeveloped ones. Although no reasonable person either in Yugoslavia or elsewhere in the world will argue (since it truly is senseless) that the developed areas should cease developing and wait for the undeveloped ones to catch up, certain justifications given in this connection differ only in nuances from what is called Reaganomics.

And it was probably not from memory that Rade Galeb yelled out at a meeting that the current foreign exchange law is in effect a veritable atom bomb in our area. Such picturesque expressions as this, however, are obviously not enough to extract the entrenched interests more rationally from the tight spot into which any entrenchment must sooner or later lead.

Some wise man recently pointed out that economic interests are being politicized in Yugoslavia, and characterized this as a negative phenomenon. This is indisputable, if we disregard the fact that they cannot fail to be politicized in a situation such that the unified Yugoslav market cannot function because of partial interests, such that the self-management mechanisms cannot operate over all of Yugoslavia because of the supposedly foreordained interests of the working class within the borders of a particular republic or province, and such that in federal agencies we sometimes behave as if we were in United Nations agencies, hardheadedly and extensively availing ourselves of the right to de facto obstruction of the constitutional role of the federal agencies. After all, it has been demonstrated, and is still being demonstrated, that there is really no need for 308 delegates to sit on the councils of the Assembly of Yugoslavia. Only one representative of each republic and province is required; they are quite enough for carrying out the procedures involved in reaching agreement on questions about which the Constitution gave no indication how agreement is to be reached on them.

#### Communist Integrity

It is obvious that there must be a decrease in the certain amount of tension which has been created in recent months, and is still being created, in the discussion of possible changes in the political system. Otherwise the economic crisis may, if nothing else, introduce some other forms of crisis.

"There is no genuine discussion if criticism is immediately perceived as an attack, and even worse as an attack against a republic or province. People ask us these days whether our discussions are sometimes between individual republics or individual provinces or if it is a matter of discussions between communists of the same, unified communist movement." These words of Zika Radojlovic are hard to understand otherwise (even if out of spite we would want to) than as a new call for composure in all the talks we are engaged in, bearing in mind that Yugoslavia is, after all, one and united. The fact that some persons immediately interpret unified to mean "unitarian" or "centralist" is a question more of communist integrity adhered to in discussions of Yugoslavia than of rhetorical thrusts effecting a transfer from main to secondary lines. And this is not the way to achieve unity.

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YUGOSLAVIA

VIEWS AIRED AT SLOVENE WRITERS' MEETING QUESTIONED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Nino Pavic: "From Ethnic Hypochondria to Sobriety"]

[Text] The Slovenian Writers Society rented from the Cankar Center an auditorium which holds about 250 participants for its discussion of the "Slovenian People and Slovenian Culture." Now, it was clear even before the appointed beginning that someone had counted wrong: In front of the center and in the corridors there was a crush of several hundred curious people who wanted to attend at any price the talks, which were expected to be interesting. The speakers included some well-known writers, public figures and cultural figures. It simply was not possible to close the door of the Cankar Center. How could one fail, for example, to allow Janez Vipotnik into the auditorium? How to prevent other lesser known people from entering the auditorium when it had been announced that it was open to all?

Yet if nearly a thousand people were allowed into the small auditorium, it was clear that an atmosphere would be created which was not desired either by the organizer--the Slovenian Writers Society, and even less by the host--the Cankar Center. Certainly the search for an acceptable solution was aided by a young writer who, revolted by the confusion, loudly accused the host of sabotaging the program. Supposedly everything had been so arranged that as few people as possible would hear what would be said at the gathering. It was soon learned that the small auditorium had been engaged by the writers' society itself and that the Cankar Center was willing on the spot to try every opportunity offered by this up-to-date, expensive, but also extremely well-equipped building.

The event was moved to a larger auditorium, the closed-circuit television system was put in operation, monitors were stationed in neighboring rooms and corridors, and thus finally all those interested in the discussion of the Slovenian people and culture could be certain that they would not miss a single word nor even any speaker's gesture. On the first day the public numbered slightly more than a thousand participants and observers, but the next day the numbered climbed to about 1,500.

Although this large turnout seems unusual at first, those familiar with the Slovenian situation call attention to the fact that even earlier when there

was discussion of certain problematical, debatable or simply interesting topics (mention was made, for example, of the discussion of the common core syllabi for the schools), the interest in participation and observation was also extremely great.

#### Klopčič's Formula

All the participants in the discussion with whom we talked these past several days in Ljubljana rejected the very idea that the gathering in the Cankar Center was the first step or dress rehearsal for some future "cultural parliament of all the Slavs," such as was once proposed by France Klopčič, but they do allow that Klopčič's interview in SODOBNOSTI, as well as certain other contributions to that magazine, and the numerous debates and articles in other journals and newspapers in recent months have so "elevated the temperature" in Ljubljana that large-scale gatherings of this kind should not be any surprise.

Klopčič's interview with the editor of SODOBNOSTI demonstrates that the topic of the series of discussions--the Slovenian people and Slovenian culture--did not come out of the blue either. Various aspects of that topic have been under debate in various ways and at many more informal places and in a less spectacular way than this series of discussions in the Cankar Center. As he announced in SODOBNOSTI, Klopčič has finished the Thesis on the Slovenian Way, which he has sent to many institutions and individuals for consideration. Reluctant to reveal the content before publication of some more competent discussion of the theses or--as Klopčič often speaks of them--the program, the author merely indicated certain basic ideas that ought to be talked about, emphasizing that "the awareness of the need for the nationality to have a program is making its way."

According to the program the statehood and sovereignty of the Slovenian nationality and all its ethnic characteristics should be carefully preserved, the role and independence of the republics within the Federation should be enhanced, only Kosovo should be left among the underdeveloped, the backward connections of the Slovenian economy should be thoroughly and quickly modernized, the administrative apparatus should be radically reduced, a much greater role should be given to the intelligentsia, especially the technical intelligentsia, the practice should be introduced of doing military service within the territory of one's own nationality, which was demonstrated to be an advantage in the National Liberation Struggle, when there existed a Slovenian Army, the growth of families and the birth rate should be stepped up so as to prevent the reduction in the number of Slovenes, the economic and cultural aid to Slovenes abroad should be augmented, a cultural parliament of all the Slavs should be established, and so on.

And this part of the program or theses which is now known to the public (published in SODOBNOSTI in December) is sufficient in and of itself, there is no doubt, to arouse interest, debate and confrontation. What occurred in the Cankar Center might in a way be said to be an extension and a part of discussions concerning Klopčič's proposed theses, if not by intention of the organizer, then certainly with respect to the topics which were discussed. Concern for the fate of the Slovene people, for its economic, cultural and

biological development, uncertainty over the position of SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of Slovenes among other nationalities within our country and indeed even in Europe, and disagreements over the quality of the foundation of socialism in Slovenia, the role of the League of Communists and Marxism in the Slovenian people and its culture are only some of the topics which were debated for 2 days in this extensive series of discussions organized by the writers' society.

#### The Responsibilities of T. Partljic

In his introductory address Tone Partljic, the society's president, rejected ideas about any "partnership between the society and political organizations," explaining that he did not fully understand that expression, nor did he know what was meant by it, since partnership of any kind was possible only in a system of parliamentary democracy, but not in a self-management democracy where there is a plurality of interests, "if we take that plurality of interests at all seriously." Probably anticipating that the discussions would be polemical and fierce (at least his own was), the president also called the attention of the participants to the notorious fact that "everyone is fully responsible to the public for his statements."

Partljic was also surely referring to that kind of accountability when he said that "we feel threatened in the state because of irresponsible statements about some sort of Yugoslav nationality, about making school syllabi uniform and about common syllabi cores.... We also feel threatened because of targeted education, which has given a bit more space to cultural upbringing, but on the other hand has markedly reduced the school subjects having to do with the institutions of the nationalities at the expense of utilitarian subjects, Marxism, preliminary military training, and so on. Partljic also said that "that new state of ours Yugoslavia, which has made it possible for our nationality to organize itself as a state for the first time to form the free republic of Slovenia, should clearly state how much we are giving in economic terms for that brotherhood and unity and how much we are getting back."

Taking issue with certain assessments of our political-ideological situation, Partljic said that "the public is disturbed because of high prices and the difficulty of survival, and least of all because of books and theater performances...." And he then went on: "Since the Socialist Alliance and the Liberation Front and Party did not speak out clearly, unambiguously and in good time about Goli Otok, the Dachau trials, the liquidation of the Home Guards [Domobrani] during the Roska [Kocevski Rog] Offensive, in my modest opinion respect and recognition should be expressed to the writers who opened up those topics, made a start and legitimized them, in the literal sense, of course."

Forecasting the death of the Slovenian people, Marjan Rozanc hopes for a beautiful death in which fortune would be inclined toward the Slovenes: "The Croats, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Hungarians and Poles are dying with us." In short, Rozanc thinks, all of central Europe of which Slovenia is a natural part is going to ruin. "At the beginning of October 1918 we dreamed about a community of Slavic Catholic peoples which would tear away from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of some kind of Illyria; in December of that same year,

2 months later, we found ourselves without having altogether wanting it in an altogether different state, in Yugoslavia.... Yugoslavia is not our organic social and economic space in which our social and economic strength might be instituted, nor our only cultural space, but a political federation." Even a revolutionary party cannot rescue the Slovenes, Rozanc thinks, from a very sinister destiny.

Boris Pahor referred to the "separation of the Christian-social component from the dialectics of Slovenian social life as a negative exclusivism."

#### "Historical Opportunities Let Slip"

Janez Menart said that the attitude of Ljubljana Television toward the Slovenian language was unacceptable, as is the failure to respect the rule by Slovenian filmmakers that all films be supplied Slovene texts. He put the blame on those sociopolitical figures from Slovenia who do not speak Slovene in the SFRY Assembly and thereby "undermine the constitution and the spirit of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]."

During the series of discussions many people also mentioned Slovenia's appropriation for the underdeveloped. There were assessments to the effect that "Slovenia is giving 10 times more for the underdeveloped than for its own culture," and Tone Persak asserted that Slovenia was giving more to the solidarity fund to repair the consequences of the earthquake in Montenegro than for its own culture. One could also hear quite a bit at this large-scale conversation about "historical opportunities let slip," about how the "bureaucracy has nationalized Slovenian culture," that "culture in Slovenia is so threatened that it can be saved only by financial independence of the bureaucracy, which could be achieved only through the market, and that is impossible because the market is too small," that "Slovenes dare not oppose one another," that the "destiny of the Slovenes is being played with dishonestly for propaganda and antipropaganda purposes," and so on.

Milos Mikeln repeated some of his basic ideas in the series of discussions, and a few days later in a television commentary as well, which was the first public reaction to this gathering, in which he said that he had heard "that in 1848 we missed a historical opportunity. But what sort of opportunity did we have? None at all! People talk about our cultural poverty, but they lack the goodwill to see that what average Slovenian cities have in the field of culture is more than even considerably richer towns in rich western Europe. If there had not been some truly senseless bureaucratic acts and restrictions, I would dare to say that Slovenia is a great power in the field of culture, not a province as some among us would like to portray us. Some have assured us that at the present moment in Slovenian culture and for the Slovenian nationality they see nothing good, that the future is cloudy, but they do not even see any sort of quality in the past. I think that people like that suffer from 'ethnic hypochondria.' It was said on several occasions that the Serbs are to blame for our troubles. But why the Serbs, who have been our old and traditional friends, dating back to the 19th century? Because of individual provocations or journalistic manipulators who recently have been attempting to manipulate ethnic feelings and compensate for certain ethnic problems we cannot forget our old and traditional friendship with that nationality."

"What should disturb us," Mikeln said, "is the present conflict between the concept of development based on self-management and that based on statism. This is the danger for all our nationalities and ethnic minorities."

Bojan Stih, whose sentence to the effect that "the global crisis of Bolshevik socialism has contributed to a deterioration of the position of the Slovenian nationality" was the most frequently quoted in the Yugoslav press, said that "this series of discussions showed why Slovenian culture, together with our poets and writers, made up the Liberation Front of the Slovenian People in 1941." "Every fear," Stih said in the concluding address of the series of discussions, "and fear arises quite often in these parts, is in essence the fear of a province, a fear which originates in a feeling of insignificance. We dare not forget that our destiny within our Federation, of which we are an integral and constituent part, is not to be a province on the periphery which can only receive, but rather we must above all give."

#### Nevertheless Innovation in Practice

The series of discussions of the Slovenian Writers Society, as is evident from these incomplete quotations, is not an event that could be evaluated in simple, one-sided or superficial terms. First of all, a frank, undoctinaire and polemical conversation about a very delicate subject was conducted in front of a large audience (only members of the society were allowed to speak from the rostrum, so that interruptions and comments from outside were eliminated).

This is certainly an innovation in our cultural and political practice, an innovation which is perhaps apparent, demagogic and falsely democratic. It is certain, however, that the road toward authentic democratization of social affairs, including those affairs of culture, does not lie in an ever greater broadening of the theaters (running the danger that we will end up in soccer stadiums), but serious criticism is not to be found of this method of communication either. On the contrary.

Also the fact that on this open stage accessible to everyone judgments were expressed freely and without fear that, to put it mildly, contrasted with those we are accustomed to and could objectively cause dissatisfaction and reaction; that is, things were said without fear for the consequences, with little or no self-censorship at all, and even innermost thoughts were uttered, is indicative of the exceptional vitality and strength of our entire cultural and political scene as a whole and of its unexampled democracy, contrary to the opinions of many embattled critics whose intentions are not good. On the other hand it is also indicative of the balance of power and the offensive being waged by that type of political thought which must disturb us.

The fact that this meeting was held, that the statements made will be given publicity, that it will be reported on in the papers and over television, that many positions expressed in the series of discussions have won the right to be expressed in public, speaks most eloquently about the condition and freedoms of public thought and in general about the possible methods of ideological and political struggle in our country.

A part of what was said in Ljubljana received an answer during the meeting itself. Some of the assertions, especially those that were markedly nationalistic (since, unfortunately, that is the only assessment that can be made of certain statements) have yet to receive an authoritative, well-documented and uncompromising response, including political categorizations as well. The observers and the participants in the series of discussions, those who were disposed to talk about it a few days after the meeting, seem to have arrived without good reason at an optimistic judgment that the "leftwing and democratic forces won a convincing victory on the spot in an open confrontation."

#### Arguments and Errors

The arguments, it is asserted, refuted those who spoke about the "threat to the Slovenian people and its culture in socialist society." It is also judged that the history of Slovenian cultural conditions and their complexity are a specific feature in Yugoslavia from which one should evaluate the discussions during the meeting. That is, the influence of social-democratic and Christian forces, it is said, has always been strong in Slovenia's past, and when we add to this the tumultuous and sometimes traumatic events in the cultural field after the war, it is clear that even today the influences of various directions, commitments and political stands which are not always consistent with the stands of the League of Communists has not disappeared. The influence and penetration of the assessments for which the LC is striving are another question, however.

Sometimes a kind of "Slovenian right to nationalism" is drawn from this, which is certainly wrong and unacceptable. Such errors could drive "a culture without dissenters" into complete isolation which, even if we overlook all the political consequences of such commitments even outside Slovenia, would be most fateful precisely for that culture. It also seems to us that lukewarm confrontations with unacceptable views are indicative of both the influence and strength of the League of Communists in the ideological struggle within Slovenia.

Much was said during the series of discussions about the past, and little about the future. And even when people turned forward, too often they seemed to be looking backward. Nationalism on the one hand and a devotion to compromise on the other can hardly be a guarantee that relations will soon be able to change in the direction of becoming progressive and up-to-date.

Much was said about Kocbek, which is not a bad thing, nor prohibited, but little or nothing was said about Kardelj, which is a bad thing and dangerous. Perhaps that is something that should be reflected on when the attainments and the consequences of the series of discussions in Ljubljana are analyzed.

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YUGOSLAVIA

PROBLEMS IN KOSOVO JUDICIARY, VITINA OPSTINA

[Editorial Report] JEDINSTVO, the Pristina Serbian-language daily, of 24 January 1985, page 7, reports that in 1983 and 1984 88 judges were employed in many of Kosovo's 56 opstina courts and in the 13 public prosecutor's offices who had never passed the judiciary examination required by law. "That which is of most concern," in general, it was said, "is the fact that inadequate attention has been given in Kosovo to the professional training of judiciary personnel...and nothing has been done in regard to providing advanced training for cadres.... It is also clear that there is inadequate cooperation between the Law Faculty in Pristina and the province's judiciary organs." No training seminars or conferences are held to assist judiciary personnel; and partly because of the lack of training, 128,492 cases which should have been resolved in the first half of last year, were not.

The same issue, on page 6, complained of the "cliques, opportunism, and privilege which have burdened for a long time the department of internal affairs in Vitina Opstina where the LC has not been strong enough to remove those at fault." While Tefik Mehmeti has replaced Isuf Zuka as head of the Vitina opstina department and other cadre changes have been made, the three local policemen who beat up and imprisoned an innocent Serb in the village of Klokot have not yet been disciplined, although an order for this was issued by the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs. According to JEDINSTVO, they are being protected by persons loyal to the former department head Zuka. Mehmeti is quoted as saying that "there are persons in the department there who do not deserve to wear a uniform and they will soon be removed," but JEDINSTVO says action has not been taken because of the hypocrisy and opportunism of members in the Opstina LC.

The 19 January 1985 issue of this paper, page 6, reported that in 1981 some 70 Serbs in Klokot, and in 1982 about 20, had formally complained to the Kosovo and Serbian Assemblies, as well as to the LCY CC Presidium, not only about this case, but also about "unjust actions, Albanian police action against Serbian inhabitants, injustice regarding employment, and the expropriation of land for the Klokot spa which had led a number of Serbs to leave the area." The basis of these complaints, JEDINSTVO said, were judged, after investigation, to be generally well-founded.



According to the 30 January issue of JEDINSTVO, page 3, the political mistakes and party weaknesses in this opstina have also contributed to the poor economic situation. Dragan Jovanovic, president of the opstina LC, said losses in the economy in the 9 month period last year were 3.3 times larger compared to 1983, and totaled 76 million dinars. He also reported continuing instances of vandalism in village cemeteries, slogan-writing, forest fires, and the "hero's reception" of Albanian nationalists returning from prison, all of which have contributed to increased out-migration of Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins. Furthermore, the escalation of Albanian nationalism since 1981, he said, "has increased the action of the Moslem, Catholic and Orthodox clergy in Vitina Opstina where they are assuming the role of protectors and saviors of the nations, are recruiting new members, especially young people, and building religious facilities."

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

KOSOVO ILLEGAL GROUPS--Soon 4 full years will have passed since the March and April 1981 demonstrations, yet official statistics and political assessments show that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo continues despite the wide and intensive political action of the LC and all progressive forces, and despite the fact that the political and security policy in the province is much more favorable than it was before. ...The sowing of mutual hatred also continues.... Last year authorities uncovered two illegal organizations and 11 illegal groups in which over 300 persons participated in anti-self-management and anti-Yugoslav actions in Kosovo [not further described]. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 85 p 6]

SERBIAN ORTHODOX VISIT TO BOSNIA--A delegation from the arch-episcopate synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church visited the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 6 December 1984 and discussed unresolved problems, such as permits to build and renovate church buildings, religious instruction, the opening of a theological academy in Sarajevo, and action taken toward priests and monks. President Renovic showed good will in regard to a mutually satisfactory solution to the problems. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 85 p 3]

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